



THE WAY TO UNION

BEING

A Study of the Principles of the Foundation
and of the Historic Development
of the Christian Church

AS BEARING ON

THE PROPOSED UNION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN,
METHODIST AND CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES IN CANADA

BY

ARTHUR S. MORTON, B.D. (Edin.)

Sometime Lecturer in Church History in the Presbyterian College,
Halifax, N.S.

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By Arthur S. Morton

DEDICATED

TO

The Memory of my Father.

WHO IN ALL THINGS,
THROUGH A LONG MISSIONARY CAREER,
NEVER CEASED TO REACH FORTH
TO THOSE THINGS WHICH
ARE BEFORE



PREFACE.

It would be difficult for me to explain the many impulses from within and without which have converged into the great force impelling me to prepare these short studies. One can only fall back on an apology analogous to that by which Martin Luther explained his marriage: "Suddenly, while I was occupied with far other thoughts, the Lord has plunged me into matrimony."

It has been a source of disappointment to me that both parties in the matter of Union combined to restrict discussion to the committee-room and to the floors of the church courts. Even during the voting of the congregations they have limited the view to the teaching of the New Testament concerning unity, and to the financial and other expediences of the case. Yet the occasion offers an opportunity of far-reaching moment in the growth of the mind of the people. It involves principles of vast import to the sentiments of generations to come. I believe the true way to Union lies in somehow bringing these principles home to the mass of the people.

Every wise leader of men—especially of a religious democracy in a democratic state, such as our Church is—must feel that it is a matter of much importance that the people should be educated in

the principles upon which their institutions are founded. It is always very difficult to do this by books. It is very simple by action and public discussion. For example, the discussions over the Bills granting self-government to South Africa conducted in the British House of Commons and on the platforms through the country, coupled with the presence of General Botha, not so long since in arms against England, now riding in state in the Royal Progress at the Coronation, did more to bring home to the man on the street the principles of liberty on which the Empire is founded than anything else could possibly have done. Similarly the negotiations for Union have great truths to teach our religious democracy. Such discussion as there has been is all in the direction of this good thing, but had there been rousing instruction and debate over all the years in which Union has been a-preparing, the principles upon which the three Churches, and, indeed, all the Protestant Churches, were founded, would have been brought home to the most careless, and a fine piece of education of the masses would have been accomplished, while the religious mind of Canada would have been proportionately enlarged and enriched.

Again, in bringing about a union of the three Churches we must be able satisfactorily to show that we are not breaking away from the historic continuity of the Christian Society, that it is no new-fangled Church we are creating, but that we are doing what has been done in every period of growth

and change which Christianity has seen; we are re-organizing the Churches to meet a new situation and new needs. An adequate explanation of this is due to our brethren of the Roman Catholic and Anglican persuasions, as well as to certain phases of thought in our own midst.

Then, too, the negotiations for Union between Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists, to take them in the order of their emergence in history, offer the opportunity to our generation of gauging the distance which Protestantism has travelled since, say, the time of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. How true it has been to itself and the ancient Gospel, yet how it has changed in the direction of a simple heart-religion, that makes for tolerance and for unity and liberty.

Further, the problem of Union offers a grand occasion for the masses of our land to ask questions concerning the drift of the life, and in particular of the religious life, of the Dominion. Whence have we come and whither do we go? The words of an individual or a few individual persons can do little to answer such a question, but it is wonderful how the light streams in upon the people during a great and self-restrained national discussion.

Lastly, I do not see how any important matter in which the final deciding factor is the sympathy and sentiment of great masses of the people can be wisely issued *either way* without prolonged education and discussion. This is a first principle of our modern democracy. It is the salvation and the

health of our politics. The plan of trying to settle a question, on which all depends finally upon the mind of the people, without a rousing discussion is above all fatal to those who wish to persuade the masses to a new thing like Union of the Churches. It is flying in the very teeth of all modern experience. Accordingly, I offer these pages as a contribution towards that general education in the principles of the organization of the Christian Society which must precede a healthy Union. I know how easy it is for a public discussion to pass from the all-important principles at stake to paltry and parochial issues ending, so to say, in broken heads and bruised hearts. Yet if three Christian communions in this twentieth century after the birth of our Lord cannot discuss a religious policy of vast import to the future of the Dominion calmly and self-restrainedly, then the sooner they learn to do so the better. Accordingly, I have endeavoured throughout to be impersonal and restrained, and have aimed at a sort of historical objectivity. I do not know of a single personal allusion made in these pages. My simple—perhaps it is almost an innocent and foolish—hope is that whether the reader be for Union or against, whether Union be ever accomplished or not, the reading of these pages will quicken interest in the several Churches, strengthen confidence in the principles of Protestantism, teach us that God's world *does* go marching on, throw some light upon the trend of Christianity in Canada, and arouse in this one and in that one a more fervid

devotion to the cause of Christ in this fair Dominion of ours.

I must acknowledge the great kindness of President Falconer, of the University of Toronto, in glancing over my manuscript and making many valuable suggestions as to language, form and substance. It will, of course, be understood that he is in no way committed to the views advocated in these pages.

The same holds true for President Murray, of the University of Saskatchewan, whom I have to thank for kindly reading my manuscript and giving suggestions, which have enabled me to make certain important passages more accurate and just, as well as to materially enrich others by illustration and application.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to Rev. J. C. Robertson, B.D., of Toronto, for his great kindness in caring for many matters in connection with the publishing of this work, which I could not at the time very well arrange for myself.

A. S. M.



CONTENTS.

THE FIRST STUDY.

	PAGE
THE APPEAL TO SCRIPTURE	15
SCRIPTURE OUR FIRST AND ONLY AUTHORITY	15
I. WHAT CHRIST TAUGHT	16
(a) ABOUT UNITY.—The Solidarity of Christians	16
(b) ABOUT THE HOLY SPIRIT LEADING THE CHURCH (i.e., About Freedom to Grow and Change)	23
II. WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT AND PRACTISED	27
(a) AS TO UNITY.—In Each City or District: Organic Union—A World-Union of Christians	27
(b) CONCERNING THE SPIRIT LEADING THE CHURCH (i.e., Concerning Freedom to Grow and Change).—The Freedom to Grow and Change a Cardinal Principle of Christianity—Diversity within the Unity	37
III. NEW TESTAMENT GUIDANCE FOR OUR TIMES.—The Right of All Christians to Contribute Their Quota to the Well-being of the Church—The Right of the Majority—The Right of the Minority—The Way to Union is by a Comprehensive Policy	45

THE SECOND STUDY.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH	69
THE CHURCH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—Church Institutions Developed to Suit the Græco-Roman World—In Each City, One Church and	

	PAGE
One Bishop—The Larger Unity: In the Provinces, Provincial Synods; in the Empire, the General Council—The Canadian Equivalent—The Principles on Which Church Institutions Develop—Two Forces Work Out Changes in the Church: (1) The Social System (Secular); (2) Religious Revivals	69
THE CHURCH SYSTEMS BEFORE THE REFORMATION—FORMATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS.—In the Local Church: Solid Unity Through the Centuries—The Unity of the Church at Large Much Less Stable	82
LIST OF SUCCESSIVE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEMS	87
THE PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO CANADA	96

THE THIRD STUDY.

THE RISE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN, CONGREGATIONALIST AND METHODIST CHURCHES	99
I. THE RISE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—The Unalterable Mediæval Papal Church—Attempts at Reform—The Reformation—The "Reformed Churches" of the Continent—The Church of Scotland—The Church, the Nation Organized for Religious Purposes—1. Its Bearing on Union—2. The National Point of View Characteristic of Presbyterianism—3. A Perfect Constitution has not Prevented Schisms	100
II. THE RISE OF THE CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES. The Unalterable Church of England—Priest or Prophet for Clergyman?—The Puritan Party—Attempts to Reform by Parliament Fail—Attempts to Reform the Church from Within Fail—The Congregationalist Churches—American Congregationalism—English Congregationalism—The Baptists	123
III. SUBSEQUENT RELATIONS OF PRESBYTERIANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS.—Congregationalists Struggle Against the Divine Right of Presbyterianism—Oliver Cromwell Advocates Liberty for Tender Consciences—John Milton for the Freedom of the Press—The Limitations of Presbyterianism—Within General Uniformity, Liberty	139

CONTENTS

13

PAGE

- IV. THE RISE OF METHODISM.—The Religious Factor, a Band of Awakened Men—Secular and Ecclesiastical Situation—The Unalterable Church—Exclusion from the Churches—Field-preaching—Methodist Societies—Methodist Institutions—The Separation from the Church of England—The Fruits of Methodism . . . 154
- V. THE FIRST METHODISTS AND PRESBYTERIAN SCOTLAND.—Scotland's Gift to Early Methodism—Whitefield and the Seceders—Whitefield and the Kirk of Scotland—John Wesley and the Kirk of Scotland—The Influence of the First Methodists on Scottish Religion—The Influence of the Kirk of Scotland on Methodism . 171

THE FOURTH STUDY.

- THE RELIGIOUS FACTORS MAKING FOR UNION . . . 185
- (1) Intellectual Piety—(2) Mystical Piety—Unions for Specific Purposes now very general among Evangelical Christians—The Next Step: Unions between Evangelical Churches—(a) Religious Factors Working for Union in Canada—(b) Union with Liberty—(c) The Need for Historic Continuity . . . 185

THE FIFTH STUDY.

- OUR CANADIAN HOME AND ITS CHRISTIANITY . . . 200
- I. COLONIAL BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND ITS COLONIAL CHURCHES . . . 200
- (1) BEGINNINGS . . . 200
- (2) THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL MONOPOLY AND RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGE.—The Divisive Influence of State Support—The True Canadian Policy—Policy of Equality . . . 202
- II. THE WELDING OF THE CANADIAN PROVINCES AND CANADIAN CHURCHES . . . 223
- (1) SELF-DEPENDENT BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES AND COLONIAL CHURCHES.—Equality and Liberty Bring Peace and Unity . . . 223

CONTENTS

(2) THE DOMINION AND DOMINION CHURCHES.	PAGE
—The Church of England on the Dominion Scale—The Presbyterian Church on the Scale of the Dominion—The Methodist Church on the Scale of the Dominion	227
(3) CANADA SINCE THE CONFEDERATION.—(a) The Sense of Canadian Unity and Nationhood—The Sense of Christian Unity within the Nation—Out of the Sense of Unity, the Call for Union—The National Aim Since Confederation—The Religious Aim Since Confederation. (b) Secular Freedom and Variety—Religious Freedom and Variety. (c) Canadian Devotion to the Motherland—Religious Connection with the Motherland	237

THE SIXTH STUDY.

THE WAY TO UNION	255
The Course Indicated by the New Testament—The Guidance of History—(1) Solidarity—(2) Freedom and Diversity—(3) Continuity with the Mother-Churches—The Way to Union	255

APPENDIX I.

UNION WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH	277
--------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX II.

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS AND NEW TESTAMENT FORMS	281
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THE WAY TO UNION.

THE FIRST STUDY.

THE APPEAL TO SCRIPTURE.

SCRIPTURE OUR FIRST AND ONLY AUTHORITY.

WE can begin an enquiry concerning the Union of Christian Churches in no other way than by questioning that which has always been the great guide-book to the first principles of Christianity, however men may have quarrelled as to who should interpret it, and how it should be interpreted.

Scripture Not a Constitutional Document.

The first fact that meets us is that the Bible is not a book embodying the constitution of the Church and prescribing, for example, the form which a united Church in Canada should take in the year of grace 1912. If that were so, enquiry would be simplified, but there would have been no room for the Churches in the various countries to adapt themselves to the varying tasks in hand. Rather, we should be living in a world as motionless as the Chinese world is said to be, with all things pre-

scribed, and no freedom to progress. We are then reduced to the necessity of sifting Scripture, and in this matter the New Testament, to find what it says here and there about the principles underlying the Church and her forms of government.

I. WHAT CHRIST TAUGHT.

(a) WHAT CHRIST TAUGHT ABOUT UNITY.

It is a matter of simple common sense that we should first ask what Jesus Christ said to the disciples and converts who gathered around Him and who constituted, if not an organized church, certainly the Church in the process of being born. We must enquire what Jesus' words meant to this nascent community. Then and only then shall we be able to gather their bearing on the movement in Canada.

Throughout, it is necessary never to lose sight of that which is indeed the Good-News, the Gospel, that Christ's chief concern was "to seek and to save the lost." In a word men and not institutions were the matter of supreme moment with Him. To express it in modern terms, His chief purpose is to have all Canadians Christians, not to found an "all-Canadian" Church, if we may use such a phrase.

Yet Christ never appears as a sheer individualist, content with having brought the forces making for righteousness to life in the individual, and satisfied with having him rest at the inward happiness of a good character, and at the quiet joy born of the

presence and approval of God. He always thinks of the saved person, the child of God, as part of a great whole, and He often indicated it as the reason for this, that the great sum of the children of God is to be a vast boon to the world.

In the fifth chapter of Matthew, for example, a number of people, already His converts, gather around Him, and He addresses to them what has been called the Charter Speech of the Church. Amid much that is devised for them as individuals He appears to plead that they, that assemblage of His followers apparently from different villages and country-sides, were a single whole with a world mission.

"Ye are the salt of the earth."—Matt. 5: 13.

"Ye are the light of the world.

A city that is set on a hill! . . ."—Matt. 5: 14.

Does He mean that those followers of His, and after them all Christians, must be gathered into one church organization, or does He merely indicate that they shall stand together as units or groups of units, in every good cause? In a word, is it a real union or a simple *unity*? Let us put the question in modern Canadian terms. Is it *Corporate Union* or is it *Co-operation and Federation*?

The Gospels, as we have suggested, give no explicit answer such as one might get if they were constitutional documents like that on which the United States of America are founded. Yet by throwing the Lord's speeches together to try to catch their gen-

eral drift, always remembering their application to the group gathered around Him from the various towns and villages, we catch sight of distinct principles and a very clear policy comes to light.

It is at once manifest that Christ suggests some kind of unity in the passages already quoted, and further that He recurred to the subject again and again.

"One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."—Matt. 23: 8.

He prayed for His disciples and their converts:

" . . . that they may all be one, even as we are one, I in them and thou in me."—John 17: 22, 23.

mentioning, by the way, the great purpose to be attained:

" . . . that the world may know that Thou didst send me, and lovedst them."

The Solidarity of Christians.

Frankly, if these passages are to be taken by themselves, I find the unity implied to be nothing more than the mystical oneness of Christians as individuals in their Father and their Redeemer, in a word, simple spiritual unity, but the moment we think of the little group, now twelve disciples, now scores of converts, gathered from various parts of the country around Jesus, the words take on a very definite and very concrete application. These peasants of

Galilee were not philosophers studying ideas, but humble folk learning life. They can hardly have failed to apply the Master's "you" to themselves, and His "city" to their group, and His "one" to their undivided selves. We can scarcely doubt, then, that Jesus indicated that they constituted a compact group and that there should be a certain solidarity among them as Christians, and this points towards an organic whole, a corporate union. Moreover, such words as "*city*," "*flock*," "*kingdom*," on His lips drive us irresistibly to that conclusion. It is true that He employs the term "Kingdom of God" as indicating simply God's rule, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and it is certainly possible to interpret the parable of the leaven as indicating an unseen spiritual influence.

"The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman . . . hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened."—Matt. 13: 33.

Yet it can scarcely be doubted that Christ intended that the inward leaven should have its outward form in a world society, such as the parable immediately preceding pictures to us.

"The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed . . . when it is grown . . . the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof."—Matt. 13: 31, 32.

Other parables of the Kingdom bear out this interpretation and enrich it. *The Kingdom*, however it

may have its consummation in heaven, *is a society on this earth with members both good and evil.*

"The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind . . . and they as down and gathered the good into vessels, but the bad they cast away."—Matt. 13: 47, 48.

The Kingdom had ministers, Christ's bond-servants, able to judge and rather inclined to eject its evil members.

"The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man that sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept his enemy came and sowed tares also among the wheat . . . and the *servants* say unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he saith, Nay; lest haply while ye gather up the tares ye root up the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest. . . ."—Matt. 13: 24-30.

It is hard to see how the hearers could have done anything else than apply this to the group of converts around Jesus, which they expected to take the glorified proportions of the renewed Kingdom of Israel when the Messiah manifested Himself. The Kingdom of Heaven, then, is often used of the concrete society of believers. It is a collective term which every Jew who thought of Israel as God's people and Kingdom would understand, and it signifies a corporate union.

That same society of believers appears twice in the words of Jesus under a name more easily grasped

by Greeks, the *ecclesia*, the assembly of the enfranchised citizens of a city—as we translate it, the Church. Again, it is a collective term, this time suggesting the corporate form taken by a Greek city-state.

"Upon this rock (*i.e.*, Peter, who would preach the Christ) I will build my *church*, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—Matt. 16: 18.

And again, in Matt. 18: 17, where the man with a grievance is told as a last resource to lay his complaint against his brother before "the Church," though this is sometimes taken to refer to the Jewish Synagogue.

We have one firm conclusion, then, that the group gathered together by Jesus, acknowledging one God, their "Father," one Teacher, Jesus, whom they knew at first as "Master" and afterwards as "Lord," one duty, "love" to the "Father" and to the "brethren," constituted one whole, the family of God, or, as Jesus called them, His "little flock," Luke 12: 32. They were the Father's Kingdom; they were to be one in the Son and in the Father and to be separate from the world. He was the vine, they were the branches. Together they made the tree and the Father was the husbandman.

"Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh it away."—John 15: 2.

It was surely a very human society, with its good and its evil, but none the less an organic whole, a concrete union of believers.

In this social group, whose centre was Jesus, there appear no separate organizations in this town and that—still less divided groups in the same place. Whenever any individual convert came to the Master, no matter whence he came, he had his place in the informal group around Him. Hence Jesus' prayer, already referred to, had in view not only a mystic union of believers but also the actual concrete group, whom God had "given" Him, and their successors in the faith.

"Neither for these only" ("the men whom thou gavest me," v. 6) "do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one: even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be in us . . . that they may be one even as we are one; I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."—John 17: 20-23.

The Canadian Equivalent.

The exact situation would have been reproduced in Canada if Jesus had converted the Dominion. All Christian Canadians, no matter what their city or station, would have had their place in His undivided visible yet informal following, and their Ruler would have been Jesus Himself, while the Twelve would have held an undefined position, that of learners in relation to the Master, that of future officers in relation to the converts, and Jesus would have prayed that they and those who should believe through them should all be one.

(b) WHAT CHRIST TAUGHT ABOUT THE HOLY SPIRIT
LEADING THE CHURCH (I.E., ABOUT FREEDOM
TO GROW AND CHANGE).

No Fixed Constitution for the Church.

If we are to keep our vision true, we must place alongside of this impressive fact a second one, Christ fixed no form of government for His society, and surely if He had been very particular about forms of government He would have done so. After the manner of a wise statesman, He carefully prepared men to shepherd the flock, gave them their position as leaders, but fastened no unalterable constitution on the community. All the greatest religious reformers have been more concerned about men than institutions. They have always been reluctant to bind hard and fast forms upon their followers, doubtless knowing how times change, and we change with them. They have been content to let institutions grow up and be the natural results of the ways of thinking and acting of the faithful. So it was with Christ—and it is a very important point for us as we go towards Union, as it is also for us as Protestants. Jesus, while all the while displaying the oneness of Christians in a single society, never laid down a law of unity attached to a fixed form of government, under which all Christians should be one, and away from which there could be no Christianity.

*Christ to Guide His Church Through the
Centuries.*

That Jesus deliberately refused to lay down a law of uniform government can hardly be doubted, all the more as in His last days He told the disciples that He had left much unsaid and that the Holy Spirit would lead them into truth.

"These things have I spoken unto you while yet abiding with you . . . but the Holy Spirit whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you."
—John 14: 25, 26.

It is sometimes affirmed that the Apostles recalled what Jesus told them, and established the Episcopate, and some even say the Papacy, so that these institutions have a divine origin. Where there is no evidence what the Lord said it is just as justifiable to argue that the Apostles were led to remember that Jesus said that He gave no constitution, but that they should do as the Spirit should lead them to see was best. Indeed, the subsequent facts rather bear out this view.

Be that as it may, if there seems some reference in the last quotation back to what Jesus said, there are directions given by Him in immediate connection with it, to look forward to the guidance of the Spirit into truth—into *all truth*, implying, apparently, perfect freedom to progress.

"I will pray the Father and he shall give you . . . the Spirit of truth."—John 14: 16, 17.

"It is expedient for you that I go away . . . If I go, I will send him (the Comforter or Helper) unto you . . . I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth."—John 16: 7-13.

Principles Applied to Canada.

When we try to apply all this to Canada in the year of grace 1912, do we not reach a succession of principles which together mark out a well-defined policy *as far as it goes*? The Lord wishes all Canadians to be Christians rather than an "All-Canadian" Christian Church. In a word, He wants the men rather than the institution. Yet to attain this end all Christians in all parts of the land are to be gathered around Christ. In their position as followers of the Good Shepherd, they are to be one flock. In their place, as working to enlighten all Canadians and all the world, they are to be a *city* set upon an hill that cannot be hid, an organized militant Kingdom.

(1) On this solidarity in Christ as on a foundation must we build the Church according as the Holy Spirit shall guide us.

(2) But the very guidance of the Spirit implies liberty to move forward, and inasmuch as that Spirit is given to many individuals and groups of individuals, it will follow that no one group is likely to monopolize all the knowledge of Christ's will. Rather, if we can devise some system by which the various groups can voice their sentiment and bring

their influence at every stage to bear upon the growth of the Church, we shall be likely to find out the Lord's multiple purpose towards the heterogeneous mass of men who to-day constitute the Canadian people.

In a word, we must strive after (1) solidarity, Union, tempered by (2) liberty. We are, so to say, the architects, and those are the two foundation-stones for our building. What the actual structure should be, Christ does not say. That the future alone can show, but there is a certain likelihood that it will vary with the varying ages, and, above all, with the needs and purposes of those who for the time occupy and adapt it, as an army occupies and adapts a great fortress to the principles of defence, and to the needs of the warfare in hand.

In the face of this uncertainty as to what exactly will be the building there is no room for dogmatism, still less for passionate utterance, for bruised heads or broken hearts, least of all for a disruption of the Church. Manifestly the *Way to Union* is to seek to come to agreement upon the principles of unity and liberty, and then to call all parties in the Church, as indeed is being done, to counsel upon the structure to be raised upon them.

II. WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT AND PRACTISED.

(a) AS TO UNITY.

We have seen that in Jesus' lifetime on earth the converts gathered around Him in an informal way from the various towns and villages and constituted His "little flock," with Himself for its leader and ruler, in fact, its Good Shepherd, and that all that He said, for example, about the vine and its branches, or about the Kingdom with the tares growing in it, must have been applied by His hearers, at once in the spiritual and concrete sense, to that visible little flock of His. In complete contrast with this was the situation when Christ left the scene of His mission and was found among His followers only as Spirit.

A Spiritual Unity.

Everything was now spiritualized. He remained the Head of the Church, but was now unseen. The Christians' oneness in Him remained unaltered, but the external contact of the Son of Man with the children of men was passed forever. That is as clear as day in the New Testament, and it is the simplest and most natural development from what had been before the Lord's death. Moreover, it is a great and impressive fact.

No External Union of the Christians of All Parts.

It is, at first sight, made still more impressive by a second fact. There was no very apparent and closely-knit form of church government uniting all Christendom; let us say, in particular, binding the Church of Jerusalem to that of the city of Rome.

On these two facts the opponents of Corporate Union in Canada build up their argument from Scripture. They say that there is no such thing as Corporate Union in the New Testament, and yet Christians were one; they lived in a simple, spiritual *unity*, and not in a visible *union*; that is all that the New Testament requires of us, and we have it already in Canada; or at least we should have it sufficiently in co-operation or a federation of the Churches. The argument so far is perfectly correct and its prime facts undeniable, but their interpretation has to be profoundly modified when we enquire how the Apostles tried to put the ideal of the spiritual unity of Christians into practice in the Church which became actual under their hands.

in Each City or District, Organic Union.

We can see from the sacred writings that the Christians in particular localities, say Jerusalem or Rome, were grouped in small bodies, "breaking bread from house to house" (Acts 2: 46), worshipping in some suitable home, *e.g.*, one with an "upper room" (Acts 1: 13), or in the residence of rich members like Priscilla and Aquila (see Romans 16:

3-5). "For the purpose of worship the house must have been the unit, but *for the purpose of administration the unit was not the house-congregation but the city-congregation*" (Hastings' Bible Dictionary). (See Acts 11: 29; 13: 1; 20: 28.) Accordingly, the Apostle directs his letters to the Church of the particular city, *e.g.*, Corinth (1 Cor. 1: 1-2). Hence, too, the Christian people of all Corinth are "God's building" (1 Cor. 3: 9). They are "a temple of God" in whom the Spirit of God dwelleth (v. 16, Revised Version). All the Corinthian Christians, taken as a sum, are "the body of Christ." However this phrase might be applicable in a spiritual way to all Christendom, the very visible society of Christians at Corinth was addressed, in the first instance: "Ye are the body of Christ," and severally, *i.e.*, as individuals, members of one another, *i.e.*, each with his place of service in the whole. Emphatically, the universal practice in Apostolic times was for all the Christians in a single city-community to form one organic whole under one government. Nothing could better prove this than the support of all the Christian widows and orphans and distressed of the place by the richer part of the communion. The very act of "distributing to the necessities of the saints" is described by a Greek word conveying the idea of communion (Rom. 12: 13). Accordingly Christians are exhorted "to do good and to communicate forget not" (Heb. 13: 16); they are to be "ready to distribute, ready to communicate" (1 Tim. 6: 18). Thus the collections

are not simply charity; they are the emblem of the corporate unity of the Christians of the city.

It is, then, as a solidarity and not as unity in spirit, as Union and not Federation, that the Apostles interpret the spiritual ideal when they embody it in the actual church in a city. This is a fact beyond all doubt, and it completely destroys the theory that simple unity of spirit, unseen oneness in Christ, was considered sufficient by the Apostles, and that they would have acquiesced in two denominations in one city of their time.

In each Canadian City, One Body of Christians.

Translated into modern terms, this means that if the Apostles had converted Canada there would have been but a single Christian community in Montreal, another in Toronto, and each well-defined locality, worshipping, no doubt, in many houses, but all together constituting one organism, in that city "a temple of God," "the building of God," "the body of Christ," while the elders and officers would have ruled the whole city-congregation. Though organic union, as we propose it, will not come near accomplishing this much for all Canada, it will bring at least a whole series of country-districts and small towns where there are at present no other churches than the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist into so many compact bodies. Add to these places those in which there is even now but one church, Methodist, Congregationalist or Presbyterian, and a remarkable step will have been taken

in the direction of the New Testament ideal. Let us not deceive ourselves. We shall not have reached that ideal, but we shall be that much closer to Apostolic times and primitive Christianity than we are now, or even than Federation of the Churches could bring us.

A World-Union of Christians.

The Apostles seem to have taken great pains to teach and to convince their converts not only that the Christians of a city constituted a compact community, but that, taken all together, city with city, land with land, the Christians made one vast solidarity. They did this by emphasizing the spiritual oneness of all believers. This appears in the names they applied to the sum of Christians. They adopted the *collective* name of the Jewish nation. The Christians are *not Israelites*, but "*the Israel of God*" (Gal. 6: 16) as opposed to the Israel of the flesh.

The Apostles appropriated for the faithful the name by which the assembly of enfranchised citizens of the Greek city-state were known, the *ecclesia*—as we translate it, "the Church." It is true they applied this name to their little house-congregations (Rom. 16: 5), and to the city-congregation, the church at Corinth, but this word, replete with the sense of solidarity, was applied likewise to the sum of Christians in many lands and in every land. Thus the Apostle Paul writes:

"Give no occasion for stumbling either to Jews or to Greeks, or to the church of God."—1 Cor. 10: 32.

Then, too, he applies the idea of the Church as the body of Christ to something more than the community at Corinth:

"For in one Spirit were we all (*i.e.*, Paul at Ephesus and the recipients of the letter at Corinth) baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free."
—1 Cor. 12: 13.

The other Apostolic writers seem to ransack the vocabulary of the world for terms to describe the Christians as a solidarity. To Peter they are

"an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession."—1 Peter 2: 9.

They are

"a spiritual house" (1 Peter 2: 5); "the flock of God," "a brotherhood throughout the world" (1 Peter 5: 9).

The writer to the Hebrews in a piece of fine rhetoric unites the Christians of this world and the next in a vast and inspiring union.

"Ye are come unto Mount Sion, unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven."—Heb. 12: 22, 23.

Grandest of all, St. John in his wonderful vision described the Christian body in ideal as

"The holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband."—Rev. 21: 2.

All this signifies no more than the spiritual solidarity of the Christians of the whole world and even

of all time, but it was not taught as simply a beautiful truth. Rather it was like the patriotic sentiment, the emotional unity by which people in different geographical areas, and of varying local interests, are cemented into a great solid nation under a unified government. All these names replete with the sense of solidarity were to create a concrete union of Christians, to hold it bound together with cords softer than silk and more durable than brass, and to bring it through centuries of heresy within and persecution from without, unbroken and triumphant.

Accordingly the Apostles set themselves to the task of translating this spiritual solidarity into a visible union of all Christians. It was easy enough to do it in the small areas like a city. It was more difficult to bind province to province, and all the Roman Empire into one. No religious community had up to that point ever been organized on so large a scale. Representative government was unknown. There were no newspapers, telegraphs or trains, which make government of a great society from a distant centre not only possible, but easy. The Church was too poor to avail herself even of the one means then to hand—the Roman imperial post system. The difficulties were well-nigh insuperable. Yet the Apostles got a long way towards attaining their ideal. St. Paul taught the Corinthians that all Christians, whether Jews or Greeks, bond or free, were baptized into the body of Christ, and among the officers of the body he counted the peripatetic

preachers, "first apostles, secondly prophets," who were not the servants of the local body, but the ministers of the Church at large. It is notable that he put them at the head of the list, in the place of honour and authority (1 Cor. 12:28). Christians passing from place to place had their assured reception in any and every church to which they came, much as it is with the Freemasons, or any other secret society to-day. Simple merchants a-journeying like Priscilla and Aquila found themselves at home wherever they went, but the prophetic ministry—apostles like Paul and Peter, prophets like Apollos, evangelists like Timothy—passed to and fro with authority.

In the first place, they took up collections in prosperous parts to assuage the afflictions of the saints where there was famine or poverty. The Apostle Paul regarded the assistance given by the Gentile churches to the poor saints at Jerusalem as something more than charity; it marked and promoted the oneness of Jew and Gentile in Jesus Christ. The latter received from the former spiritual things for which they returned material things. This material aid is described as a "communion," as we are unfortunately forced to translate it, "a contribution" (Rom. 16:25-27; 2 Cor. 8:4; also 9:13). "The stress which the Apostle lays on this collection is only explained when we regard it as the emblem and the instrument of the corporate fellowship of the locally scattered Christian society" (Hastings' Bible Dictionary). The collections, then, were to incul-

WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT 35

cate in action what Paul taught in the sphere of ideals, when he wrote to the Ephesians:

"Giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all and in all."—Eph. 4: 3-6.

Moreover, it is remarkable that the Apostle passes from this exaltation of unity to give a list of the officers of the Church whose existence transformed her from an invisible spiritual communion to a very visible corporate union, and again the officers of the Church at large head the list:

"He (Christ) gave some to be *apostles*, and some *prophets*, and some *evangelists*, and some *pastors* and *teachers* for the perfecting of the saints . . . unto the building up of the body of Christ till we all attain unto the unity of the faith."—Eph. 4: 11-13.

The Apostles and prophets, in the second place, wrote letters from their present distant spheres of labour, giving decisive directions as to how the Christians should live or how the churches should arrange their rites. For example, Paul at Ephesus instructed the Christians of Corinth concerning marriage, saying:

"Unto the married I give charge, yea, not I, but the Lord."—1 Cor. 7: 10.

and also fixed the form for observing the Lord's Supper:

"I received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you."—1 Cor. 11: 23.

That we have in all this a real, if a somewhat loose, form of government, based, of course, on the conviction and consent of the governed, as all ecclesiastical government should be, is manifest by the fact that many of these letters were read at worship at the churches, that they were copied and sent to other churches, that they came to be regarded as authoritative alongside of the Old Testament, and finally that they became the Word of God decisive for all Christians, and are cherished as such to this day.

The Modern Canadian Equivalent.

In spite of geographical difficulties the Apostles, as far as was possible in the wide Roman Empire, made the great mass of Christians one firm and closely knit organism. They do not seem to have thought of any other course as possible. Their problem in the Empire was essentially the same as ours in Canada. First, to make all men Christians, and to make them know and feel their solidarity, that they are different and separate from the world but all one, a great and holy city in which the Lamb is enthroned, and through the streets of which the river of the water of life flows out for the healing of the nations; and secondly, as far as is wise and practicable, to get this spiritual solidarity translated into a visible compact society, free yet united, and capable of bringing all its resources to bear on the great mission wherewith the Christians of our land are charged towards their fair Dominion and on behalf of the world at large. Neither Christ nor

the Apostles fastened a constitution upon us. We are now asked to resign our common sense or our judgment. There is no divine form of government delivered of old to the saints to which Canada of the twentieth century must conform, but it seems irresistibly forced upon us that, when we are, as at present, offered a choice between a looser co-operation and federation, on the one side, and a firmer corporate union, on the other, that which, looked at on its unseen spiritual side, comes nearest to a solid compact Canadian Christianity must be taken, and that which would give us, first in our towns and districts, and lastly in the Dominion as a whole, something like the visible, tangible union of the ancient city-congregation and of the scattered body of Graeco-Roman Christians must be adopted as embodying best the ideals of the New Testament.

- (b) WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT AND PRACTISED CONCERNING THE SPIRIT LEADING THE CHURCH (I.E., CONCERNING FREEDOM TO GROW AND CHANGE).

No Fixed Constitution.

The Apostles seem to have been as anxious as Christ not to fasten fixed forms of government upon the Church. We can point to passages in which St. Paul gives directions concerning the character required in such men as should be employed in the offices of the Christian community, and that so minutely as to cover the character of their wives and

children also, but there is not one line prescribing the constitution of the Church at large, or defining the nature of the office of elder or bishop. St. Paul did indeed send Titus to Crete to ordain elders, but these appear to be bishops, and only now, after people's attempts to discover what he meant by the term "bishop" have reached the dimensions of a library, are we beginning to approach something like a consensus of opinion on the point. All of which argues that there was no carefully drawn up constitution being enforced everywhere.

The consequence of having no pre-arranged system of government is a certain dimness of outline, a certain appearance of fluidity, about the offices which we find in existence in Apostolic times. This is specially the case in those books of the New Testament which date from the first generation of Christians.

However a qualification should be made, the officers of the Church at large stand out fairly distinctly, as if at this stage the organization which united all Christians were firmer than that which held together the Christians of a locality.

*Organization of the First Generation (say till
60 A.D.).*

The earliest documents do not mention presbyters, bishops or deacons by name. St. Paul writing (53 A.D.) to the church which he founded at Thessalonica refers to its rulers vaguely as those that

"labour among you and are over you ("head-men") in the Lord."—1 Thess. 5: 12.

WHAT THE APOSTLES TAUGHT 39

Similarly the Epistle to the Hebrews, of later date (70 A.D.), refers to a church with "rulers":

"Them that had the rule over you."—Heb. 13: 7.

When St. Paul first writes to the Corinthians (57 A.D.) he enumerates the several grades of the ministry:

"And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues."—1 Cor. 12: 28.

We can see the functions of the *apostles* and *prophets* tolerably clearly. They were the ministers of the Church at large moving from group to group. The Apostles, like Peter, John, Paul, Barnabas, were those sent out to propagate the truth and to found churches. Prophets saw and proclaimed the unseen but living Word of God to the Christian peoples, and played the part of itinerant preachers. These two classes devoted themselves, in the phrase of Acts 6: 4, to "the ministry of the Word." On the other hand we know little or nothing about the local officers and are left dimly to conjecture that "helps" and "governments" may have been or may afterwards have become "elders" or "bishops" or "deacons." A similar vagueness quite incompatible with a clearly defined constitution hangs over St. Paul's reference to the leaders of the church at Rome (59 A.D.).

"Having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according

to the proportion of our faith; or ministry, let us give ourselves to our ministry; . . . or he that exhorteth, to his exhorting; he that giveth, let him do it with liberality; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness."—Rom. 12: 6-8.

We can only conjecture that presbyters, or bishops, or deacons, may be referred to in the terms "ministry" and "rulers."

The Organization of the Second Generation (from 60 A.D.).

In the books of the New Testament written in the second generation the peripatetic prophetic ministry devoted to the whole Church still stands out tolerably clearly (see Acts 13: 1), but St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians has added the evangelist to the number; pastors, too, appear, and teachers have fallen to the fifth place:

"And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors* and teachers."—Eph. 4: 11.

The function of the prophetic ministry is well indicated in the same letter in its reference to the Church as

"the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone."—Eph. 2: 19, 20.

* In view of the many references to the "elders" as feeding "the flock of God" (1 Pet. 5: 2-4; Acts 20: 28) many suppose that pastors may have been elders or bishops. (See Appendix 3.)

But the local ministry stands out now in a much clearer light than heretofore. This may be explained by the growth of the local communities and of the power of their officers with them. We cannot here refer to the many passages in which elders or bishops or deacons are spoken of. We must, however, touch on the difficult question whether "elders" or "presbyters" were the same as "bishops" (over-seers).

"Presbyter" and "Bishop."

There is much to indicate that "presbyter" and "bishop" are different terms for the same officer, the name bishop signifying his function of overseeing. St. Paul reminds the elders of Ephesus that they are bishops (Acts 20: 28), and he addresses the heads of the church at Philippi as "bishops and deacons" (Phil. 1: 1), while in the next generation Polycarp, writing to the Philippians, seems to refer to the same officers as the "elders and deacons" to whom the younger members are to be obedient "as to God and Christ." The fact that more than one bishop was found in the city-congregation at Philippi and also at Rome and Corinth immediately after New Testament times, and that St. Paul reminds Titus that he was sent to ordain elders in Crete, but immediately proceeds to describe the character required in the bishop (Titus 1: 5, 7-9), also suggests the identity of the two officers. On the other hand, it is claimed that bishops are almost always associated with deacons; that in the time of Timothy there was but one bishop at Ephesus; and that his

duties appear to be connected with the entertainment of strangers ("given to hospitality"), with finances ("no lover of money"), and supervising the Christian community ("He shall take care of the Church of God." 1 Tim. 3: 1-7). Hence it is argued that the elders (presbyters) were the old men given to teaching and ruling, but one or more of these were set apart under the name "bishop" to preside at worship, and particularly at the Lord's Supper, to receive the offerings which were made in connection with it, and to see to their distribution to the poor by the hands of the deacons. Such might be called "presbyter-bishops."

The easiest and most natural explanation of all these difficulties is that there was no prescribed constitution for the Church, but that forms of government grew as the needs of the various communities came into view and as "the Holy Spirit led men to the truth." Functions, at first ill-defined and scarcely able to claim a distinctive name, in the course of a generation were separated out into offices more distinct and having their own names, while even at the end, perhaps, the difference between an elder and bishop was only appearing. However, we see clearly enough two orders in the ministry. (1) The ministry of the Church at large, apostles, prophets, evangelists, who either were chosen and sent by Christ or began by simply witnessing in the local church to the faith that was in them, but at the call for a larger mission were formally chosen and set apart with the laying

on of hands (so Paul and Barnabas, Acts 13: 1-3).

(2) The local ministry, which would be composed of some few of the many who bore their testimony in the particular community, chosen to teach and rule and set apart by their fellows, with or without the presence of a higher authority, like Paul or Titus. Such were the pastors, teachers, elders, bishops and deacons; but that their functions, save for the deacons, were yet carefully defined does not seem certain. Both ministries bound the church in the single city and the churches in all the cities into one grand unity—"the household of God."

"The one was a ministry to the whole Church of God, and by its activity bound all the scattered parts of the Church visible together; the other was a ministry within a local church, and with the assembly of the congregation (i.e., of the city) manifested and preserved the unity and the independence of the local community. In the apostolic and early sub-apostolic church the prophetic ministry was manifestly the higher and the local ministry the lower; the latter had to give place to the former even within the congregation over which they were office-bearers."—Principal Lindsay's "The Church and the Ministry."

Freedom to Progress under the Leading of the Holy Spirit a Cardinal Principle of Christianity.

This growth of New Testament forms of government which we have described was not simply natural to the genius of Christianity. The Apostle Paul made it a fundamental principle of the Christian Church. The classical passage is the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians, which gives his con-

ception of the nature of the Church and the principles of its development. In view of the detailed discussion of "diverse operations," the enumeration of the officers in the Church and the insistence on solidarity amid all this variety, we may be confident that the friction at Corinth was not all due to party faction, as the third chapter might suggest, but rather to the emergence of new forms of Christian activity, consequently new offices and new organizations which some dreaded and would suppress. It is the position in which the Church finds herself in every growing-time. It is exactly the place in which we stand in Canada to-day, when the question is, Are new forms of thought and government admissible? Shall we move on to a new organization?

St. Paul's Conception of the Church and the Development of Its Government. Diversity Within the Unity.

The Church is manifestly the sum of believers, gathered around their unseen Lord and spiritually one in Him. It is not a prescribed constitution that makes them one, but "The same Lord that worketh all in all." This spiritual unity is, however, reflected in an outward visible solidarity manifest in the Church at Corinth as well as through the Roman Empire. The unseen Lord of the Church is leading her to form her institutions by calling this man to this service and that man to that ministration. Some,

however, repudiate the divine leading of their fellow Christians and refuse them a foothold in the Church. With this situation in view the Apostle writes a whole chapter to prove that the Lord is leading His Church by calling men to their several missions, and he pleads that all their various messages and ministrations must have their place within her, without breaking up her solidarity, provided only the workers heartily own that "Jesus is Lord." So he pictures the Church as a body of men in whom and through whom God is working in diverse ways, and he pleads that all should be allowed to make their contribution to her welfare and to her progress. Each member should fulfil his function and "there should be no schism in the body" (1 Cor. 12: 25). In these principles is to be found the secret of orderly development, of peaceful progress, and of the adaptation of the Church to fresh circumstances while she maintains within her the essential genius of Christianity and the true spirit of her Lord.

III. NEW TESTAMENT GUIDANCE FOR OUR TIMES.

We seem justified, then, in drawing the following conclusions for our day and generation from God's Word, *i.e.*, from Christ and the Apostles.

(1) We must make men and not institutions our goal. We must reach forward for all Canadians to be Christians rather than for an all-Canadian Church.

(2) Consequently the Church is in ideal the whole mass of Christian people who gather around their unseen but guiding Lord, and who are to be permeated with a sense of their unity and solidarity in the face of the world of sinners, from whom they are separate but for whose redemption they must labour.

(3) On their keen sense of spiritual solidarity the first Christians built up, as far as was then possible, its visible counterpart, an organic united Church, both in the local parts and the Roman Empire at large, and so must we. Accordingly all depends on how far the sense of solidarity has grown in Canada. (See the Fourth and Fifth Studies.) If there is growing up a real New Testament feeling of oneness in and through their unseen Lord and Guide, Canadian Christians will want, as far as possible, a single Church with an organic government both in the local parts and in the Dominion as a whole.

(4) If we follow New Testament principles, what that government should be will be manifested by the leading of the unseen Guide, given, Scripture in their hands, to individuals and to groups of individuals among us, the Spirit "dividing to each severally as he will."

(5) There must be in that Church a New Testament liberty by which all such, provided they loyally own that *Jesus is Lord*, should be allowed, as the Spirit leads them, to develop *within* the solid unity of the Communion their diversity of ministrations

and so be able to make their contribution to the character and the progress of the Church. This is the rule of the majority in the interests of the majority, but it is something more. It means that a minority in the church-courts may have its own work to do for a minority within the household of God.

The Right of All Christians to Contribute Their Quota to the Well-being of the Church.

Thus all Christians, and not the majority, make the Church, and all her members have the right to contribute to her welfare and her progress as God may endow them with talents. Indeed, it is safe to say that the larger the Union and the more diverse its elements, the more essential it becomes for its peace and progressiveness that all parties be *consciously and deliberately* given the opportunity to contribute their gift to the well-being of the whole. I do not think that either element, the Union men or the Anti-unionists, appreciates sufficiently this Scriptural right of the individual, of the minority and of the majority to have a place and an influence in the Church which is to be. It is based on Holy Writ and sound British instinct. St. Paul pleaded with the Corinthian Church to allow "diversities of ministrations by the Spirit." Only so can the Spirit have "free course," as our fathers used to put it. Only so can the invisible Head of the Church call individuals and groups of individuals to fresh lines of service and carry out His purpose towards His

Church, or, to put it in every-day parlance, only so can there be initiative, progress, peace. In this sense liberty is a prime condition of efficiency and as carefully to be cherished as the orderly system of government itself.

A forest of oak seems ever the same, but it does grow and change.

"Three centuries he grows, and three he stays
Supreme in state ; and in three more decays."

Much depends upon the crop of oaks pushing up from beneath. If they have been given their foothold, and light and room enough, they grow up new trees, new in their vigour and perhaps in their shape ; yet they are of the ancient fibre, and it is the same old oak forest. But should the acorns fall on unreceptive ground or the young oaks be so overshadowed as to fail to find the light to grow and to win their place in the wood, other and less sturdy types of trees which need less soil or light take their place, and the forest begins to lose its hold and to shrink. Similarly the Church appears to the observer ever the same, but there is always growth within her. As her leaders loose their grip and her institutions become hoary, other men and new ways of organization begin to push up to take their place. However different they may seem at the outset, when they are given their foothold and come to their own they are found to be of the ancient fibre, and it is the same Church as of old ; but should they be repressed, a race less sturdy, more timid, pliable and even insin-

cere, grows up, their institutions become less able to inspire men to their best, and the Church loses its hold and begins to shrink. Witness the Roman Catholic Church when it refused to make room for Luther's reform, and the Church of England when it refused to engraft a preaching ministry into the Elizabethan church or to permit a presbytery to grow up around the bishop to guide his activities. New Testament liberty, then, is more than majority rule, no matter how fine or free the constitution may be. It gives the man and the minority a place in the service of the Church, it may be of the many, it may be of the few, or, as generally happens, of the minority to-day and the majority to-morrow. In any case it is the inalienable right of all Christians to make their contribution to the general welfare and growth of their own Church.

The Right of the Majority.

It follows from all this that the Union movement, in all likelihood, has a contribution to give to Canadian Christianity and that the Spirit of Christ is in it. When it has come, no one can say exactly how, to such vast proportions we must reverently ask, "Is there not a leading here to a wider ministration than we have known heretofore?" It seems all the more likely to be so in that the movement did not spring up in the imagination of a group of ambitious strip-lings but with some of the choice and master-spirits of a generation already being numbered with the dead. Then, too, in a way which would have been

considered a wild dream twenty years ago, the Union men, and their opponents, too (for even they call for the Unity that is by Federation), and all Canadian Christians have had their minds set, on the one hand, on the harm and waste of our divisions, and on the other on the beauty and power of the New Testament Unity. Is this not an unmistakable leading of us back to the first intentions of Christ and the Apostles, back to a primitive brotherliness and sense of oneness in the Lord? Further, nothing that has ever happened in religious Canada before has so buried rivalries, sweetened bitternesses and made for a sane Christian fellowship as these Union negotiations extended over a considerable number of years. Does it not look as if they were bringing the three Churches a little nearer to the reign of Him over whose cradle the welkin rang with the proclamation, "On earth peace and goodwill"?

"Our blest Redeemer, 'ere He breathed
His tender, last farewell,
A Guide, a Comforter, bequeath'd
With us to dwell.

He came *sweet influence to impart—*
A gracious, willing Guest,
While He can find one humble heart
Wherein to rest.

And His that gentle voice we hear,
Soft as the breath of even,
That *checks each fault, and calms each fear,*
And speaks of Heaven."

No hymn in all the range of our anthology is sung with more sincere rapture than this gentle hymn. We think, as we sing, of a personal presence of the Guide in the individual soul, sweetening his relationships and removing the blemishes from his life; but that which is true for the unit is true for the mass of Christians, and it is for the members of our Churches to ask themselves in all reverence whether a movement which is imparting a sweet influence unto the Christianity of the whole Dominion, and is checking those rivalries and divisions which are its shame, is not a real spiritual guidance, whether it may not have the Guide himself behind it, and finally whether our Church should not, as the humble heart, give Him a dwelling-place. We seem to be on firm New Testament ground when we assert that all Christians have an inalienable right to make their contribution to their own Church, and here is a contribution of peace and brotherhood for which large majorities in the three Churches have declared themselves. It will be hard to find just grounds for denying to them their indefeasible right to so far contribute towards a great and united Canadian Christianity yet to come.

The Right of the Minority.

On the other hand, the very persistence of the opposition must give us pause. The very fact that some of our most intelligent, devoted and efficient workers—I speak of such as I know—are so fixed, I will not say against Union but more accurately, so

determined to maintain liberty—the liberty to preserve the forms and spirit which every one has to acknowledge have satisfied the Church perfectly up to the day of the Union Committee, must make us ask, “Is *all* the contribution towards the Communion which is to be to come from the Union men?” Alas! few men and fewer parties see life whole. Therefore we have our two parties in the State, in order that in the abundance of discussion truth may come to light, and that what one Cabinet has left undone may be accomplished by another. It is a rough-and-ready way of seeing both sides at once, or at least one side after another. It is a confession that Canadian citizens who differ absolutely from us have, they also, their contribution to give to Canada. Accordingly we turn to the Union men to plead: Please do believe that you may have missed sight of some valuable, nay vital, things, and these others whose zeal none can deny and whose loyalty none may gainsay, that they also may have their light to bring, their genuine gift to give, “their word of wisdom by the same spirit,” for in truth, if they have such, it is their inalienable right to give it as *their* contribution to the Church which is to be.

The Way to Union is by a Comprehensive Policy.

The two views, the double leading of the majority and minority, must somehow be moulded into a system, into a practicable policy, exemplifying the first principles as they have been delivered to us in the New Testament. The one party insists on more

unity; the other on liberty, i.e., liberty to preserve the forms and spirit that have stood the Church in good stead through the centuries and which, so far from being proved worn out, are building up a great and powerful religious body in this young nation of ours. This last party offers *Federation* as a solution; it will be a great step towards unity and it will preserve the integrity and liberty of the several denominations. We are not here asking whether this will solve the Canadian problem, or whether the sense of Christian unity in the Churches has not gone so far that it could not be satisfied with the actual divisions being bridged over rather than removed, concealed rather than cured. What we are asking is, What does the New Testament say?

*Federation is Short of New Testament Solidarity,
but Maintains New Testament Liberty.*

In view of our finding everywhere in the New Testament, first a spiritual solidarity, and built up on that in all localities an actual organic union, while in the Church at large there was as much organic union as was practicable at the time, we must declare that *Federation* falls short of New Testament solidarity, but then it *does*, in its way, maintain the Liberty, the diversity of ministrations, which is a fundamental principle of the New Testament; it does erect freedom to differ into a principle; it does insist on the inalienable right of a group of Christians to make their contribution to the Kingdom of God in the way by which they are led.

Organic Union as Advocated Falls Short of New Testament Liberty, but Maintains New Testament Solidarity.

On the other hand, the Union men ignore somewhat the question of Liberty. They contemplate in the larger Church a uniformity, comparable to that which prevails in our own body to-day. But a uniformity where all are agreed is a very different thing from a uniformity where there is some divergence of view, as witness the contrast of Scotland and England in Reformation times. It is perfectly true that we are to retain our splendid constitution with its government by the majority tempered by appeals to higher courts, and checks like the Barrier Act—the most perfect constitution yet devised. For all that we shall have a uniformity which scarcely contemplates the rights, the indefeasible rights, of individuals or minorities to make their contribution to the Church of God. What is in view is a uniform system by which the custody of the Church is handed over to a majority with the assumption that the views of the majority should and must satisfy all, and so far it falls short of New Testament Liberty. “If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing?” asks the Apostle with a fine pungency. “The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee.” All must contribute to the Church to be, and in the Church that is to come, else there is a schism open or concealed.

Our Present Uniformity Without Liberty.

The reader replies, "We have now a uniformity without Liberty, and yet it presses very rarely upon any." Yes, but that is because we are, so to say, all of a family. Questions are raised in committees, Presbyteries, and even the higher courts, and settled sometimes in a very few minutes without any discussion, either before or afterwards, in our church papers and in the minds of the ministers and elders. We do not take the people into our confidence till afterwards, when we say, "We mean to do thus and thus; support us, please." A system like this can only succeed where everybody is bound up with everybody else, so to say, by the most intimate ties. I am not at all sure, even now, that it is an unqualified success. I rather think that we have something to learn from the methods of our secular rulers, who seldom attack a problem that has not been canvassed in the press. Two inestimable benefits arise from the public discussion. The leaders learn the drift of public sentiment, and shape their course to win its support. On the other hand, the people are awakened and educated and prepared to give their assistance with their assent. I imagine our Foreign Mission Committees have at times floundered in the deep mire, when a previous and well-informed discussion in the Church at large would have given them firm ground to tread upon, and brought an interest and support to their plans far beyond that actually realized. I believe there is to-day a certain weak-

ness, a certain timidity, a certain unevenness in our policies, because they do not rest upon public opinion. Be that as it may, it is sure that no one, unless he be on a committee, can get the knowledge and the judgment to influence the policy of the Church, nor can the minority on a committee win for itself support from the public without exposing themselves to the odium of carrying the quarrel from a committee to the Church at large. All this involves no very great harm, so long as a general unity of sentiment prevails, so long as we are, as the habitant says, "all on de familee," but it will be far otherwise in a large Union in which there will be at the three extremes a mass of opinion—High Presbyterian, High Methodist and High Congregationalist—eager to express itself and anxious to have its own influence.

The problem, then, is how to give these traditions a home within the Union Church; how to enable them to voice their several points of view and exert their several influences in such a way as shall make the policy of the body at large less the will of a majority and more the resultant of all the forces in the Communion.

We can only see how this may be done by having the case against Union put as sharply and as clearly as possible before our minds and by offering in the sphere of administration in return for Union, point for point, such concessions as will secure to the minority, both in spirit and as far as possible in the letter, the legitimate desires of their hearts—all *within* the Union.

The Way to Union.

The arguments against Union are essentially the same for the High Presbyterian and Methodist and Congregationalist traditions. We state the case for High Presbyterianism alone for brevity and simplicity's sake.

(1) The first plea is for the integrity of the ancient forms of worship and of life which embody the quiet dignity of Scottish religion, as also for the integrity of the church-courts whose traditions are simply the summing up of the Presbyterian life and ways in the larger area. "You cannot touch these without wounding us in our deepest susceptibilities," runs the plaint.

The answer should be, if you grant the majority the New Testament freedom to contribute the spirit of solidarity and a unified organization to the Churches, we shall freely and on New Testament principles of Liberty grant you the right to maintain the integrity of the individual congregation,* presbytery and synod with their forms and traditions *as far as local sentiment shall voice itself in that sense.*

The Union Committee has already arranged that congregations shall not lose their integrity save by

* The Union Committee has guaranteed to *existing congregations* the freedom to preserve their present forms of government, and there can be no doubt but that these will enjoy as much liberty in the future as in the past. The liberty of churches yet to be founded is less manifest.

their own vote. Let this liberty, if there should be a demand for it, be extended to Presbyteries and even Synods. Let it be boldly decreed that we mean to carry Union by no vote of the highest court, nor by the pressure of a widespread majority upon the local parts, but by the public sentiment of the whole *and the parts*. The majority of the whole body of church members shall do no more than unite the several highest courts, *i.e.*, the central administrative machinery of the three denominations; but in any congregation, presbytery or synod in which there may be a majority or a large minority against Union there shall be no local fusion of the bodies until by their own spiritual leading and conviction they shall heartily agree to it for themselves. By some such policy Union would pass from being a dramatic act to being a process accomplishing itself, first in the minds and hearts of the people and then in the various congregations and church-courts, till all shall be one both locally and in the Dominion at large.

We contemplate, then, a Church which would be, in the Dominion as a whole, and in some parts, a completely united Church, in others, more like a Federation, according as public sentiment should declare itself. In areas as yet unprepared for Union the Presbyterians and Methodists would remain apart, but would sit side by side in the higher united courts of the Church. Such an arrangement could only succeed if careful arrangements were made to see that those who held back from complete union were not treated as pariahs but given full liberty to

voice their sentiments. Hence the need to listen to further objections to Union on the ground of its not giving a place or a part to High Presbyterian tradition within its fold.

(2) An objection of a more vague and general nature is alleged: Scottish tradition will be upheld by but a small body in the Union and have a still smaller influence. It will hold a place in the United Church analogous to Irish sentiment in the British House of Commons. At the stated meetings of the committees and courts it will raise its voice but to be voted down. Only by dint of much agitation will public attention be drawn to its plea, and even then its influence on the governing machinery will be almost nil.

In answer to this, Union men should offer to embody in the Basis of Union a pronouncement in favour of New Testament liberty by which they would declare that the Church consists of all groups of loyal Christians, that as far as possible her policy should be the resultant of the varying influences, that minorities must be given, as far as may be, their voice and their influence, and that this would be guaranteed by granting the lower courts, as indeed they have in a large measure already, considerable room to differ within the general uniformity, always provided such be in keeping with the registered sentiments of the area affected.

(3) This last objection takes specific form in an opposition to Union on the grounds that bureaucratic methods of conducting the business will pre-

vail in the larger Church. It is asserted that men will go to the committees, and in a less degree to the courts, with little knowledge of what the business is to be, and less knowledge of the facts involved. From the necessities of the case the items of business must be dismissed in a short time. Men will not have had opportunity to gather their information or get their bearings when the matter will be brought to the vote. For lack of knowledge as to the facts they will be finally reduced to accepting the will of the bureaucracy. The conjurer offers the audience any card in the pack, but the audience ends by taking the card the conjurer intends it to take.

Quite apart from the justice or injustice of this argument, the answer should be that we are willing to safeguard the rights of the minority by such rules and regulations as shall be deemed necessary. All the work of committees cannot be made public, indeed, would not be interesting; but arrangements could be made to have all matters of policy, in particular things touching the prevailing practice and ancient institutions, duly announced with the facts pertinent, so that public opinion can form itself, and so that any committee or court will know the views of the various groups in the Church when it meets for a final decision, and none shall be taken unawares.

(4) Another objection runs that the upholders of High Presbyterian traditions will be silenced in the Church at large. They will often speak and not be heard, for the decision of the majority is all that reaches the press. For example: six men on the

Foreign or Home Mission Committee of say thirty members may seek to have some vital problem solved in keeping with the Scottish and Presbyterian spirit. Let us suppose that they win eight to their side and are defeated by but two votes. Not a word, as things go at present, will be heard in the Church at large of their stand for their principle, for the public will be informed of nothing more than the decision of the majority. Our six stalwarts will have to take upon themselves the humiliation and odium of appealing from the committee to the public or be silent. Similarly a fertile and quickening debate in Presbytery may end in defeat by a narrow majority, and all the world will know is that Mr. So-and-So moved thus-and-thus and it was defeated. Mr. So-and-so has deliberately to carry the discussion out into the Church or Scottish tradition will be unheard. Our proud Presbyterians feel the alternative is intolerable.

The matter is made doubly worse by an accidental circumstance and by a deliberate policy. Our religious journals are so straitened financially that their reporting is of the most meagre order. The editorial staff is rooted to its office, and like a sea-anemone waits for such crumbs as may drift on an aimless tide to its uncertain tentacles—and oftentimes, it would seem, the tide is unkind. That is the accidental circumstance; the deliberate policy is to maintain peace by avoiding discussion. The way actually being taken is to follow opinion, as manifest in the church courts, and not to inform and create it, all of which

is very well for a majority, but leaves the minority helpless, and effectually silenced. Under this system, it is claimed, it is hopeless to expect the more strenuous upholders of Scottish tradition to look forward to the future otherwise than with dismay. If that tradition raise its voice in the pulpit, on the public platform, or even in the church courts, its influence will go no farther than the sound of the speaker's voice. Beyond that it will have to run the gauntlet of various creatures waiting to devour its case. First of all the reporter, who may or may not hear it or like it; then the editor of the church paper, who may or may not agree or who may substitute for the speech a compliment to the speaker; then, again, those who do not accept his opinions and who, in case of pressure of space, will cast them into the waste-paper basket or reject them for fear of controversy.

"That which the palmer-worm hath left
Hath the locust eaten;
And that which the locust hath left
Hath the canker-worm eaten;
And that which the canker-worm has left
Hath the caterpillar eaten."

Once again, whether this be a true picture of the case or not, the answer should be given in the sphere of administration. The Union will have ample resources to establish a series of well-to-do, efficient religious journals in conjunction with the semi-official papers now existing. These should be judiciously distributed across the Dominion and become

the organs of the localities giving voice to their several areas. It should be made *obligatory* for them to prepare for the business of the various committees and courts, by announcements and discussions, to report impartially, though necessarily in condensed form, all important debates in the committees and courts, on the public platform, at the post-graduate schools, etc., so that *automatically* what is being said and done may be recorded in the journals of the area and become the property of its church membership. Thus the voice of every group of men will be heard and all alike will have their chance to rally public opinion to their support.

The press is the greatest power in the land making for education. Its influence is felt where the voice of the preacher is never heard—in the rush of the railway train, in the silence of one's chamber. Its power is entirely in proportion to its ability to interest, and this it obtains not by retailing cut and dried ideas, and purveying a *set* view wholesale; in a word, not by carefully medicated pap, but by reflecting life, showing its diversities and divergences, the clash of its interests, the struggle of variant views, the tussle of personality with personality. As all this passes before the mind of the reader his opinions begin to form, his imagination to be touched, his feelings and affections to find, like the tendrils of a vine, the framework on which they can grow and by which the whole man will thrive. That which is true for the individual is true for the whole Church. If the public could watch the ecclesiastical

machinery with anything like the closeness with which it can follow the political wheels, it would awaken to a lively interest in ecclesiastical affairs, would form its opinions and rally to the institutions and the schemes of the Union Church as could be in no other way. Moreover, an aroused public opinion would be a great guide as well as a support to our leaders.

A good religious press would be a great boon in itself, but the point here is that it will help to make every group in the Church find its voice, and its place in the body politic, and to exert its influence there. It will end in a policy which will be something more than the will of the majority—rather the voices of the whole Christian community blended into a harmony.

(5) A final objection to Union is that it cuts us away from our past and puts a gulf between us and the mother-churches of the present, so that the Scottish or any other tradition will become isolated and finally lost in the Canadian.

The answer to this is, that such is the case already, and that with every decade the bodies in Canada, whether separate or united, must become more and more Canadian, less and less Scottish or English. In particular the forms of government will be adapted to the needs of the future and not of the past. None the less, the Union men should be ready to cultivate the larger relationships of the Church, such as Antioch cultivated with Jerusalem. To this end arrangements could be made for a fixed policy

of special delegations between the Canadian Church and the mother-churches. From time to time the great preachers and evangelists of the motherland should be brought over to meet with our ministers and, where possible, with our people. Further, there should be a scheme of ample scholarships by which the best of our graduates, and many of them, should drink in for at least one year the rich, mature, intelligent and truly devout life which pervades the Churches of the Old Country. This, again, would be a good thing in itself, but it would be specially devised to show and satisfy any and every minority that the Union is not to cut us off from our mother-churches, or to crush out High Presbyterian or High Methodist tradition. On the contrary, that within the general unity of the Canadian Church every variety of sentiment may thrive and that in particular the spirit of the ancient lands will be deliberately fostered—indeed, cherished as never before.

All this is not suggested as a policy so much as an illustration of how a scheme might be drawn up calculated to win all parties to common ground with loss of respect to none. The plan as it stands would give the solidarity and the liberty which this party and that asks for. In accordance with the sentiments of the various areas duly registered, we could maintain the forms now in happy use in hundreds of congregations, as indeed the committee proposes to do; we could preserve intact all congrega-

tions and even all courts expressing themselves in that sense; we could increase rather than diminish the influence of the mother-churches among us, while at the same time we could go forward to the larger Church which the majority would be calling for, and which the Dominion apparently needs. We should thus ensure a great Communion while we would ward off the dangers of uniformity by guaranteeing to all Christians as individuals and as groups their inalienable right to make their own contribution to the Church in which, by a Providence over which they have no control, they have been born, or to which by God's grace they have been called. Above all, we would be building the great Communion-to-be on the solid foundation of New Testament truths, and each party could justly rejoice that it had given its own principle to the final consummation—the one New Testament solidarity, the other Scriptural freedom—both embodied in powerful and lasting institutions in the Union Church.

Let us try to bring our conclusions to a point in a single paragraph. The Unionists are seeking after greater efficiency in the work of the three Churches by sweeping them into a single Communion under a well-ordered system of government. The Church to be, in virtue of its unity, will have ample means at its command; it will eliminate wasteful rivalry, and win for itself a clear field in which to organize the Christianity of the Dominion effectively. The ideal is magnificent and captures our imagination,

but we must not seek to attain it at the expense of Liberty, lest we lose much of what we gain by sacrificing another type of efficiency whose source is the heart and imagination of the individual, or the group of individuals, who may be in a minority to-day, but be the majority to-morrow. In the soul of the individual man, or of the small group of men, grows that most delicate of all plants, Initiative, Reform, Knowledge of the will of God, call it what you will. It only comes to blossom in open soil and a free atmosphere, one swept by all the winds of heaven, and the Spirit that bloweth where it listeth. Accordingly the individual, and the group of individuals, whether organized as a congregation, or, and this is just as important, as a minority in the church-courts, should be deliberately given a place in which to play their part. This principle holds good equally in reference to those who form the minority desiring to preserve the forms and traditions which they have cherished up to the present. The leaders on the Union side recognize this and make definite proposals giving liberty to existing congregations, at least, to go in the future as in the past, but I do not think the rank-and-file recognize sufficiently, especially with regard to general government and administration, that, in a vast Church, with Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Methodist and other types of character and of interests striving for their proper place and influence in the church-courts and in the work of the body at large, the efficiency that lies in a well-ordered, centralized gov-

ernment will be seriously endangered by friction, and what is just as injurious, want of enthusiasm, devotion and sacrifice, if there is not placed alongside of it *deliberately and of set purpose* the principle of freedom and institutions calculated to preserve and foster it, so that every element will feel that it is neither ignored nor suppressed, but has its place and part in the great united Church, and can devote itself without reserve or stint to the new Communion as in the past to the old.

THE SECOND STUDY.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

THE CHURCH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

If the New Testament had given us an ecclesiastical constitution the history of subsequent forms of government would have been of little importance, since they would not have varied with the centuries, but, as we are told that the Spirit of Christ will lead His people, their later history becomes of vast import, for it indicates the different ways in which, according to its varying needs, the Christian community has organized itself. Accordingly, we turn to enquire how the Christians in the Roman Empire interpreted the New Testament, and built up their church system.

The Solidarity of the Christians.

In the first place the Græco-Romans maintained, often in the face of great difficulty, the compact unity of the Christian fold. In days when the Christian faith was mastering the Roman world, and the Church was at times in a life and death struggle with the Empire without, and with

heresy within, solidarity became a cardinal virtue and schism a horrible sin. St. Ignatius passed the cry all along the fighting line: "Have a care for union."

No Fixed Constitution.

At the same time the early Christians acted on the assumption that the institutions of the Church were in a fluid state, and their hands free to recast them. They abandoned some officers or forms of activity altogether. Apostles, prophets and evangelists gradually disappear. New officials, as, for example, the "pastor-bishop," the single head of the city-community, come to light. Even Anglicans recognize this single bishop as a new official. Dr. Armitage Robinson, Canon of Westminster, says: "The development of the monarchical episcopate lies outside the New Testament."

Church Institutions Developed to Suit the Græco-Roman World.

The Greeks and Romans took the New Testament system and fashioned it in a perfectly natural way, after their ideas of good government, and the needs of their social system, until it fitted into the Empire beautifully, and became something which they could thoroughly understand and love. In this sense they created the most efficient organization possible for that age. The Romans laid great stress on unity and uniformity. Accordingly, the Græco-Roman

Christians made their church as solid and uniform as the Empire itself.

In Each City—One Church and One Bishop.

The unit of the Roman governmental system was the city (usually including some territory around it). The church of a city was, accordingly, kept one corporate body, and made the unit of the ecclesiastical system. The people were accustomed to government by one man, so there emerged in the city-church a monarchical system of government. As some have it, the president of the board of elders gathered into his person the powers of the board, while according to others it proved cumbersome to have several (presbyter) bishops presiding at sacraments, receiving the gifts and distributing the alms. Consequently these duties were placed in the hands of one man, who grew in importance as the city-church grew in size, in wealth, and in the number of its dependent poor. When this "pastor-bishop" first appeared in Syria, there was still, to all appearances, boards of elders or bishops at Corinth and Rome. It was a time of great difficulty for the Church, what with persecutions from without, and heresies within. For these evils the Græco-Roman world would naturally turn to government by one man as a remedy. At any rate, St. Ignatius, the martyr Bishop of Antioch, advocated the monarchical episcopate in season and out of season, and its very fitness to the ancient mind and the Roman State-system would be sufficient to bring about its

universal adoption. In this way, all unconsciously, the church-system fitted itself into the Roman political structure.

Then, too, the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans were all accustomed to the principle of people choosing their officers—the Hellenistic Jewish community (almost certainly) its elders; the Greek city its rulers; Rome herself chose her Consuls, and the Roman legions their *Imperator* or Emperor. Thus it was natural for the city-church to retain the New Testament forms of election, and to acclaim its bishop as the citizens acclaimed their officers, or the legions an emperor. This “pastor-bishop” was the ruler of the whole body of Christians in the city, responsible for their worship, their sacraments, their finances, and the alms. The elders, *presbyters*, formerly his equals, dropped into a subordinate position, for they became his assistants at the sacraments and worship, and his advisers in the administration of the community. At the stage when there was only one place of worship in a city, the system is not materially different from what we have still in some small town with but one church, and that Presbyterian, with its elected pastor, elders and deacons. But as Christianity grew, several places of worship became necessary in a city of any size. The bishop remained responsible for the whole city-community as before, but appointed his presbyters, priests, to this place or to that duty. Thus the New Testament solidarity of the Christians in a city was maintained and issued, throughout Roman society,

in rule by a city-bishop, who began to wield in the Church the autocratic powers of the corresponding Roman official in the State.

Moreover, the bishop of a city took the place in the Church which his city held in the State. The Roman bishop ranked first, for the Church in Rome was large and wealthy; it was visited by leading Christians from every Province; its members travelled abroad, and its wealth was freely poured out to relieve the other churches in times of disaster or famine. Alexandria came next in the ecclesiastical system, as it did in the Roman system, because of its size and its wealth, and after it, probably in this order, Antioch, Ephesus and Carthage. It is true that ecclesiastics early found religious reasons for this ranking of the cities—that Peter, the chief Apostle, had laboured in Rome and been martyred there,—that his secretary Mark had founded the church at Alexandria, and so on, but if so, why did the Bishop of Carthage, a church whose founder all the ingenuity of imaginative ecclesiastics never discovered, and above all the Bishop of Constantinople, the capital of the East, not founded till the 4th century, come to the front rank in the hierarchy, while the Bishops of Corinth and Philippi and Derbe, churches founded by the Apostle Paul himself, never rose above the importance of their respective towns in the Roman system? The truth is, the Church was fitting herself into the Empire as into a mould, so that the bishop of a city had an im-

portance commensurate with the size of his church and the rank of his city.

The Larger Unity—In the Provinces, Provincial Synods; in the Empire, the General Council.

Not only was the solidarity of the Christian community maintained in the several parts, but it was preserved in the whole and made complete in a great State-Church fitting closely into the Empire. This could only be because there was a great sense of the inward unity of the Christians in all the provinces, this unity being voiced in the watchword, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." So high did the sense of solidarity of the Christians grow, that they called themselves "The Third Race," Jews, Gentiles, Christians. But this larger unity is no longer preserved by the peripatetic ministry of the first generations, for apostles, prophets and evangelists have disappeared. Unity is now thought of as being expressed in the episcopal office. As Cyprian puts it:

"The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole. The Church also is one, which is spread abroad far and wide."

On this foundation, which is not an unworthy substitute, still a substitute for the New Testament system, the institutions making for the larger unity were built up.

After the beginning of the third century there began to spring up, in those parts of the Empire in which the Christian population was growing great,

the meeting of the bishops of a province in a synod, the bishop of the capital city being its president, or metropolitan. With the assistance of a few bishops under him he ordained the bishops of the province. But in the fourth century the vast Roman provinces came to be called dioceses, and were cut up into small provinces. So closely was the Church being constructed on the lines of the outward empire that she readjusted herself to the change. Small synods grew up in the new small provinces and larger groupings begin to appear around the chief bishops of the (political) dioceses, viz.: in the East around Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, but less uniformly in the West,* around Rome and Carthage. At this juncture, the Emperor Constantine threw himself on the side of Christianity, and the Empire rapidly followed his lead. To settle the Arian controversy, and—a point which is usually ignored—to deliberately organize the Church in tune with the Empire, he called the first General Council to meet in Nicæa (325 A.D.). This gave the Christians a great central organization meeting in case of trouble to mark out the course for the whole Church throughout the Empire.

The Roman Imperial Church.

By the fifth century, during which the Roman Empire was disrupted, Christianity had organized itself

*In the West Christianity was more sparsely scattered, and the cities were fewer.

into a religious edition of the *imperium*. In these times it had become the permanent thing to have two administrative areas, with an Emperor ruling each. The Church also showed this division. In the Greek East, where Christianity came earliest and where there were many cities, the scheme sketched above came to its perfection—in every city one community under a bishop, in every province a synod with its metropolitan; in every diocese a larger grouping under an over-metropolitan.* The titular head of the East was the Bishop of the Capital, Constantinople, (New Rome), while the Bishop of Rome was the titular head of the whole Church of the Empire (and Patriarch of the West). The organ binding the Christians of all parts into a unity was the General Council, which further linked the Church to the Empire, for it was called by the Emperor, who in person, or by an official, supervised its proceedings. In the Roman West, where Christianity came in later than in the East and made its way more slowly, and where there were fewer cities and none that could rival Rome, this system took root much more slowly and was profoundly modified by the outstanding position of the Bishop of Rome. Then, too, the Emperors in the West held aloof from interfering with the Church. Instead of managing it through a General Council they put the Bishop of Rome at its head. By the decree of the Coun-

*This developed (451) into a system of Patriarchs, consisting of the Bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople.

PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT 77

oil of Sardica (Sophia), 343 A.D., and by various imperial edicts they made him a sort of general referee in cases of dispute. Here also we have a Church organized on the main lines of the Empire, only its master was not directly the Emperor, but the Bishop of Rome under the Emperor.

The Canadian Equivalent.

Let our imagination run and let us picture what like the organization of Christianity would have been if it had come in its early plastic stage to Canada, and fitted itself into our administrative system as it did into that of Rome. The primitive Christian democracy we may well argue would have been at home in the democratic Dominion. That cant toward autocracy which the Roman world gave it would not have been given here. We should have had all the Christians of our cities in one body electing their elders and deacons and a single head over them—a religious town council and an ecclesiastical mayor—but the power to govern would be vested in the council, for which its head would be but the executive. There would be a similar democratic assembly electing its chairman, the religious counterpart of the county council; another over against the Provincial Assembly; and a final body uniting the whole Church of the Dominion, a General Assembly, over against the Houses of Parliament. This is not so very different from what we have already in the Presbyterian or even the Methodist Church, or what a Union Church would bring about.

It is true the boundaries, religious and secular, do not at present coincide, and of course our cities are not organized religiously as a unit, but in congregations. None the less it is a fact to arrest the imagination that had Christianity come to our shores direct from Palestine, and in its plastic state, and taken on an organization fitting closely into that of the Dominion, it would have been one not easily distinguishable from the Union proposed. The one outstanding difference would have been that it would have gone farther than Union, for all Canadian Christians would have constituted one grand Church of the Dominion, while in each city all the Christians would have formed but one community under some democratic form of government.*

The Principles on which Church Institutions Develop.

Christianity born of the Incarnation and nurtured on the indwelling Spirit had passed over the Roman world, as it were, a seething mass of emotion, and was cast into its stereotyped form in the mould of the Empire. This is a first illustration of the general truth, that however the religious impulses in the Church come from within herself, and find their origin in God, the outward forms which she takes in this age and in that are largely fixed by the condi-

* In this connection see: Appendix 1—Union with the Anglican Church.

tions in which she organizes herself, and the land for which she labours. This has been erected into a principle of ecclesiastical history by Professor Harnack, in the following words:

"In every age the first thing to consider is the constitution of the Church. But in every period of the history of the Church its constitution has been dependent on the general political conditions and ideas of the times ; or, to put the matter more accurately, the Church has at all times shown a tendency to copy within itself the constitution of the State in which it lived, or to prescribe to the State the constitution which the State was to have."—*Contemporary Review*, December, 1904.

This principle is working wonders in the way of enabling historians to unlock the secret of the growth of those varieties of organization which the Church has shown as the centuries have come and gone. It enables them also to understand the origin of the special features of this denomination and that, coming to existence side by side. It leads us to see that though their special features may be erected into principles and even declared to be of divine origin, they are very largely due to the needs and conditions under which the denomination or the organization in question arose. But the grandest result is that it enables us to mark out a certain distinction between the Christian people and the various organizations in which and by which they seek to accomplish God's will to their land and to their time. Thus we are led as a judge by a great principle of equity to be just to times and institutions from which we differ, and whose reproduction to-day we would deplore.

The British Empire presents in its world-wide limits, in the United Kingdom, in the Isle of Man, which has a Parliament of its own, in the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, in India, and in the Straits Settlements, a remarkable variety of methods of government, but that does not prevent it from being the British Empire, even although we would repudiate the methods of government in vogue in India if they should be imposed upon Canada. The truth is that the Empire is one thing, its forms of government another. The British nation is, we thank God, stable in its genius and character, and we fondly pray growing ever more and more ripe in wisdom, self-restraint, in freedom and in the fear of the Lord. Their government must as by a law of nature reflect these qualities, but there are variations in this dominion and that, in this colony and in that, which are imposed upon it by the very culture or lack of culture of the people to be ruled. Now the Church differs from this in that there is a certain norm for her, and we must be always referring her life and institutions back to the first principles treasured for us in Sacred Writ. None the less, the Christian people, and their church organizations, are something different the one from the other. The genius of the Christian people has, alas! at times been grossly altered by the disorder and the ignorance of times like the Dark Ages, and yet the truly devout in every age have risen above or through their very ignorance to a heart-relationship with their God and their Redeemer, which makes them all of one family.

Did not St. Bernard of Clairvaux, a monk of the monks, in the very heart of the Middle Ages, sing, as we have sung a hundred, nay, a thousand, times with him:

"Jesus, the very thought of Thee,
With sweetness fills the breast ;
But sweeter far Thy face to see,
And in Thy presence rest.

No voice can sing, no heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find,
A sweeter sound than Jesus' name,
The Saviour of mankind."

Thus it becomes possible to see that the inward genius of true Christians has been essentially the same through the centuries, though the ways in which they have thought have necessarily varied with the schooling of their age, or of their land, while the forms of government which they have given the church have changed with the changing times. It is only with long toil up the painful stairway of knowledge that ecclesiastical historians have risen above the bias of their parochial Christianity, to take this large view of the whole Empire of Christ in its essential unity in spite of an infinite variety of thought and government, but it has been the open secret of the mystics for many centuries that there is a heart religion before Christ which is the Christian's all in all, that this is necessarily expressed in his thought and church-government, but these are something different and manifestly show variations

due to time, the social structure or the education of the land in which he lives. William Penn, that illustrious mystic and Quaker, who crossed the seas to found Pennsylvania, has voiced this point of view in these words:

"The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion, and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers now."

Finally, is this not the spirit in which church should meet church when the proposal is to unite? The basis in history for this spirit is the principle that, while true Christianity maintains its sameness of character, its outward institutions receive their form in the mould which the age in which it is at work makes for them.

THE CHURCH SYSTEMS BEFORE THE REFORMATION— FORMATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS.

If the principle on which the constitution of the Church is built is that Christians always tend to fit their institutions into the State in which they live, then it follows, as night the day, that the Church must be prepared for changes when the State changes. Now ecclesiastics always have had an incurable dislike of the doctrine that such a sacred thing as the Church could change. In an age of reconstruction they will freely reorganize and reconstruct her institutions, but that is no sooner done than they turn round to declare the work that they have just com-

pleted perfect, unalterable and divine, even claiming that the Church had existed so from the beginning. They do not say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" but they say, "Is not this the great Church which God has built?" and by Church they mean a row of Popes, bishops, priests, etc., elaborate ritual, garments of special cut, tonsures, and finely drawn out theologies and what not, all massed together to make an unalterable, because a divine, institution. We have our Protestant and even Presbyterian edition of this ecclesiasticism, but it is to be found in its first perfection in the ancient Roman Imperial Church.

*The Attempt to Make the Forms of the Church
Unalterable.*

As the doctrines and the forms of ecclesiastical government within the Roman Empire began to take definite shape, the clergy had, of course, to defend them, especially the doctrines, against the assaults of heretics or schismatics as the case might be. To do this they developed different canons of the genuineness, different proofs of the authority of a doctrine or practice. Such must be *apostolic*, that is guaranteed by bishops in succession from the apostles—not an unnatural argument in the earliest generations of Christians; it must be *catholic*, i.e., guaranteed by the bishops everywhere, by the whole Church; it must be *scriptural*, i.e., based on the Scriptures, and to this end the canon of the New Testament was fixed, that is to say, a recognized list of the genuine books ac-

cepted. Accordingly, when a dispute arose the whole Church *catholic*, gathered together in the persons of the bishops in *apostolic* succession and interpreting *Scripture* as the Holy Spirit might direct, made its authoritative pronouncement. This finding of the General Council was held to be *catholic*, *apostolic*, *scriptural*, and therefore obligatory on all.

This was a complete transformation of men's way of thinking of the Church. It was no longer "the household of God," but a certain succession of officials, certain forms of belief and ritual. The Church ceased to be "men" and became "institutions" to which the people's mind and will must bow down. Obedience became the first virtue and to think for oneself a prime vice. This attitude is best described by the term ecclesiasticism, for it puts ecclesiastical institutions above men, regards all who will not conform as no Christians, and at times is ready to burn them. It is in sharp contrast to the New Testament whose institutions were little more than first principles and which concentrated all its attention upon human souls, their attitude to God their Saviour, and their way with their neighbor. From the beginning to the present in all climes and Churches, Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian, as we shall see, people range themselves round these two points of view—the ecclesiastical mind proclaiming Christian institutions unalterable and divine, and bending men down to them; and the lay spirit insisting that the supreme object of the Christian religion is to win human souls and human society for Christ and to a

Christ-like spirit, and consequently changing and bending religious institutions in the interests of men.

Two Forces Work Out Changes in the Church.

(1) A very little knowledge of history makes it certain that the structure of secular society is constantly changing. We shall see that with secular changes come inevitably ecclesiastical changes.

(2) On the other hand, there are constantly recurring revivals of religion and fresh accessions of religious zeal and clear-sightedness, when, as it were, a new generation of Christians think the Christian community is slipping backward, and in their desire to save men and make the Church efficient, they reshape the old machinery and invent new institutions which, of course, always arise out of the sentiment of the times, are adapted to solve the problems of the age, and fit in with the secular institutions of the day.

These two factors, one secular and the other religious, have been able to build and re-build the Church even when its constitution has been the most rigid and when it has been fortified by the belief that it was divine and unchangeable.

We mean to give a list of the distinct changes, some of them complete revolutions, which have been wrought in the outward organization of the Church taken as a whole, up to the time of the Reformation. We cannot deal with the transformations wrought in individual institutions like the Synod or the Episcopate, or with the varying modes of thought. We take

the main question of the Unity of the Church's organization, but two points bearing on it must be carefully noted before we go farther.

In the Local Church Solid Unity Through the Centuries.

Throughout the whole of the first fifteen, and one might almost say the first seventeen, centuries, the compact Union of the Christians in the town or geographical administrative area was practically unbroken. It is safe to say that in the vast majority of towns and districts on the Continent there has never been any more than one Church, with one or more houses of worship, while the same is true of England up to the Methodist movement and of Scotland to the Secession (1733), and even up to the Disruption (1843), scarce three-quarters of a century ago. Such is the testimony of the Church as to local solidarity.

The Unity of the Church at Large Much Less Stable.

The Church as a great body has not so successfully maintained the unity of her outward organization. There have been troubles within, like the Arian heresy, and the dispute between the East and West about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, but there have also been great breaches in the unity of the Church through external influences. Of these we seldom hear, because the institutions of the several sections were largely the same, and there was no

quarrel between them. The Church simply fell into fragments through the emergence of some dominating political sentiment or system. For example, for many generations the Frankish Kingdom maintained what may be called the Church of Frankland. There was no repudiation of the rule of the Pope; it simply lapsed, for the Frankish Church was being ruled by the will of Frankish kings, as the Lombard Church was by Lombard kings. Then some vast empire, like that of Charlemagne, would arise and sweep the fragments once more into a great Union.

LIST OF SUCCESSIVE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEMS.

1. *A United Christianity under the New Testament System.*

This organization maintained general and local unity respectively by means of an itinerant prophetic ministry and boards of elders or presbyter bishops, but was a plastic system easily moulded.

2. *In the Roman Empire a Solid Roman Imperial Church (325-476).*

As we have seen, the New Testament system was recast and, so to say, the molten mass of newly converted Christians was fixed in a Church system modelled on the State—the city-community under the bishop; the provincial church under the Synod and Metropolitan. So closely parallel to the Imperial system was this, that the Church as well as the Em-

pire tended to divide itself into a Greek East and a Roman West, the East being organized into Patriarchates, united under the General Council, but throughout closely supervised by the Emperor; the West being gathered into the hands of the Bishop of Rome under the Emperor.

*3. In a Divided Europe a Divided Christianity—
Catholic and Arian—from 476.*

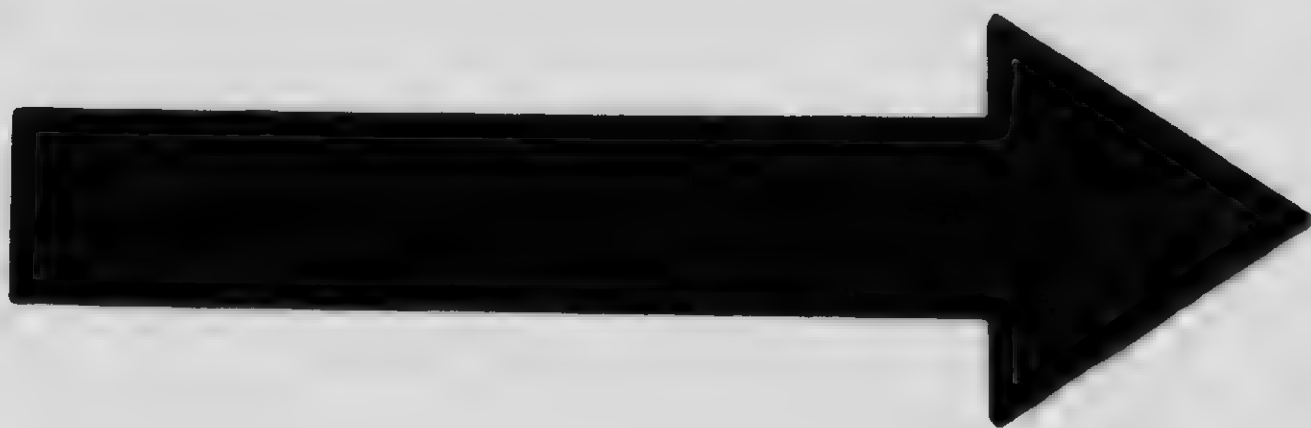
The transforming factors which created a new age were, on the secular side, the German nations disrupting the Western Empire; on the religious, the fact that these Germans had been converted by Arian missionaries who had created a row of National Churches within the German nations, much as the Roman Christians had fashioned an Imperial Church within the Roman Empire. The result was a new secular system with ecclesiastical organizations to match. In the East, where the Roman Empire remained, there continued a solid Christianity in an Imperial Church. In the West, where the Germans established a group of Kingdoms, Visigothic, Suevic, Vandal, Ostrogothic, and settled in the country parts, leaving the Roman population in the cities, we have a divided Christianity, the division being chiefly between country and town. There is a series of separate national German Churches (Arian) seated in the countrysides, and gathered around the German kings, while over against them stood the much reduced Church of the Romans in the cities, gathered around the bishops. These bishops were free and

independent, save that in disputes and general policy they followed the proud arbitrament and leadership of the Bishop of Rome.

4. *In a Divided Catholic Europe Separate National Catholic State Churches (from 500 A.D.).*

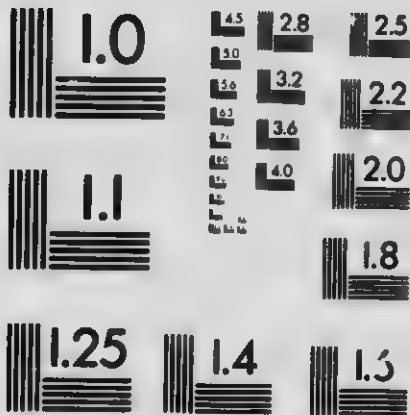
The secular factors at work were the rise of a great Frankish Kingdom (486-532) and the recovery of the Empire (528-565). The religious factor was that the Franks were converted to Christianity—to Catholic Christianity (from 496); the Empire was Catholic, and the Visigoths (587) and the Lombards (from 600) were converted in their turn to Catholicism. We now have a Christianity re-united in Catholicism, and respecting the Bishop of Rome, but it is not the old solid Roman Church.

The Church system corresponded to the new secular world; in the Empire, which now included Rome and parts of Italy, there was the Imperial Church with the Bishop of Rome for its first bishop, very much controlled by the Emperor. There were Frankish and Visigothic, and later, Lombard, national Churches in Frankland, Spain and Italy, respectively, very much in the power of the king of the land, who called their councils and appointed, under the forms of an election, whom he chose to be bishop. This system, especially as the Emperor and the Bishop of Constantinople between them managed Eastern Christianity, reduced the power of the Bishop of Rome to its lowest ebb. In 590 Pope



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Gregory the Great from the walls of Rome could see the Lombards ravaging the land. He could also almost see the limits of his *actual* religious rule.

5. In an Eastern and a Western Civilization an Eastern and a Western Christianity.

Two great secular movements now reduced Christianity to its lowest ebb. 1. The Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, all Northern Africa and Spain (633-732). Then followed the religious result. The people of all these lands went over almost *en masse* to Islam. 2. The Slavs swarmed across the Danube and squatted in almost all the Balkan peninsula (from the end of the 6th century). This wrought its own religious change in the area affected. The Slavs were heathen, accordingly they placed a great wedge of heathenism between Eastern and Western Christian civilizations, with the final result that each of these went forward on its own course.

We follow out the development of Western Christendom.

6. In the Frankish Empire, Western Christianity (the British Isles excepted) united in the Frankish Imperial Church.

This time the religious factor led the way. A revival of religion largely stimulated by the monasticism of St. Benedict (died 543) passed like a vivify-

ing breath across Europe. It had placed the Benedictine monk Gregory the Great (590-604) on the Papal Throne. He had sent St. Augustine to England (596) and the Saxons and Angles were converted to Christianity. In the eighth century Angle and Saxon missionaries (in their turn) on fire with evangelic zeal and devoted to the Papacy, crossed the channel and converted our Holland, South Germany and Thuringia, infusing at the same time into the converted peoples their own devotion to the Papal See. The historian expects to see a United Western Christianity ruled from Rome, but the political factor intervenes. Charles Martel (716-741), his son Pippin (741-768), and his son again, Charlemagne, (768-814) renovated the Frankish Kingdom and founded a great empire which ran from the Elbe to the South of Italy, covering Rome. The Frankish Kings from the first ruled their own church absolutely. Thus the movement towards a Papal Church was nipped in the bud. The Frankish national Church became a Frankish Imperial Church, the Bishop of Rome becoming first bishop in a church which the Emperor ruled. Charlemagne passed laws about preaching and teaching and singing, and he even called and presided at a council of his Imperial Church, which led the West in declaring for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *and the Son*, the Bishop of Rome all the while being reluctant.

7. In a Chaotic Europe, a Chaotic Church.

The political factor comes first now. The Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces from within, but especially because the Northmen on the Western coast of Europe, the Saracens in Italy and the Hungarians in central Europe broke it up, destroyed its wealth, and, by making its roads insecure, crippled commerce. The feeble descendants of Charlemagne made themselves still feebler by the insane division of their realms. Their power slipped away to such officials and nobles as organized volunteer forces of armed cavalry to repel the invader, entrenched themselves in a castle on some impregnable height and seized the reins of government. The religious consequence was as one would expect. Monasteries were burned or plundered, church lands seized by rapacious nobles and, worst of all, the unscrupulous layman, count or duke, appointed his younger son, faithful warrior or boon companion to be abbot or bishop of the neighbouring monastery or bishopric. It was in those days that a miserable faction of nobles at Rome placed disgraceful characters upon the Papal throne, including a worthless youth of twenty, in order to control the wealth of the see. References to Rome practically ceased. The Church was drifting to utter disintegration. The period is known as "The Darkest Age."

8. (1) *The Recovery of Europe, (a) the Mediæval (German) Empire, (b) French Feudalism.*
(2) *The Recovery of the Church, (a) the Imperial Church, (b) the Sacerdotal Church.*

(1) Europe recovered, but not everywhere on the same lines.

(a) In Germany, Saxon Kings (919-1002) founded a strong German Kingdom which Otto the Great expanded into the Mediæval Empire (962), extending over Italy beyond Rome.

(b) In France, which was already feudalized, something like peace came with the development of the customs of feudalism. The French king ruled a small area, the Isle of France, whose centre was Paris. His power had slipped away to the nobles.

(2) The secular situation was matched by religious.

(a) In the Mediæval Empire we find the German national Church expanded into a great Imperial Church in which the Bishop of Rome was the first bishop, and was appointed by the Emperor. A quiet religious revival purified and helped to strengthen the system. The whole of this Church, at least the part of it in Germany, looked to the Emperors to protect its property, and appoint worthy men to ecclesiastical offices, and it did not look in vain.

(b) In France the secular situation was quite different. The King was too weak to protect the Church. The nobles, plundering and squandering her property, were breaking her up into little ducal

churches and appointing whom they would to the offices. But a great religious revival connected with the monastery of Cluny saved the Church (910-1073). It was monkish, and laid great stress on celibacy. It taught that the lay-life was not as holy as the celibate life, that for the layman to appoint to the offices of the Church was a sin. That the (clerical) Church was to the lay-world as the soul to the body—the only part of real importance; therefore the priest was above the layman and the Pope above the Emperor; the priest, and above all the Pope, held the keys of heaven and hell. These ideas, through the religious revival led by the monks of the order of Cluny, passed over those parts of Europe affected by feudalism, and so captured the consciences of the people that when the priest from the altar denounced evil-doers, including the confiscator of church-property or the fierce noble who invested his favourite with an office in the Church for a fee (simony), the lay-world trembled. The nobles began voluntarily to place the power to appoint their bishops into the hands of the Cathedral clergy, subject to the Bishop of Rome. Hence arose the sacerdotal Church in those parts of Europe, at this time feudalized, with Rome for its centre.

9. All Europe Feudalized—the Universal Sacerdotal System.

The dominant secular factor at work was feudalism. The German nobles carry on a long struggle

against the imperial power and finally destroy it. The Bishop of Rome, chafing at the power of the Emperor, supports the nobles almost throughout. The struggle is now in the *secular* sphere and takes the form of civil war (German wars, and those of the Lombard Leagues in Italy). It is now in the *religious* domain and takes the form of a struggle to hold or gain the power to appoint to the ecclesiastical offices (The Investiture Strife, 1076-1122). Meanwhile the Cluniac revival passed over even Germany and won the people from their loyalty to the Emperor to a loyalty to the Pope such as was hitherto unknown. In the end the power of the Emperor was broken (1256-1273). The great Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, etc., ruled like kings. All Europe was divided into little feudal principalities. The one great institution in every land, overshadowing all, became the Sacerdotal Church, governed by an absolute and reputedly infallible Pope, as the Empire had in a measure been ruled by its absolute monarch.

10. *The Young Nations of Europe and Their Young National Churches (Reformed).*

The Feudal Sacerdotal Church and the Reformation are to receive more minute attention in another connection. Here it is enough to say that the great secular factor which ushered in the next age, which we know as the Reformation, was the rise through the destruction of feudalism of nations compactly

organized as monarchies.* The religious factors were a great religious revival and a great intellectual *renaissance* which went back to New Testament religion and primitive truth. All these elements, secular and religious, found the absolute power of the Pope, defending abuses, in their way. They united to break away from him and disrupted the one vast international feudal Church. There emerged a new religious organization in keeping with the new age, viz., in a Europe of young nations a Christianity of young National Churches. Even where a country like Spain or France remained Catholic, the sovereign reigned supreme and the Roman Church, while still obeying the Pope, became dependent on the Crown, a sort of national Roman Catholic Church, French or Spanish, as the case might be.

THE PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO CANADA.

It is convenient to break off here, though we could and we shall follow the history farther, but we shall have our attention taken up by other features. We have proved, we fear in a rather fragmentary way, what vast power the outward social structure has had upon the Church, her organization and her institutions. We have been able to trace, likewise, religious forces within the Church operating usually in the same direction as the secular forces, and we have

*Except in Switzerland, which was a confederation of little republics.

PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT 97

seen that the two combine to transform her and create her anew, always fitting her into the new age that has been born.

We have seen this principle so often and so persistently at work as to feel that it is a law of life. We now turn to ask, Is there any reason why Canada should be exempt from that law? Surely not. We once were a group of separate colonies, scattered across the northern part of our continent. The generation that won the right to rule themselves without interference from the Home government immediately began by putting its house in order and ended by uniting all the colonies and the whole land into one closely knit governing system under the name of the Dominion. Within that Dominion, under a dozen and one influence to be pictured in detail later, our people are being welded into a mighty nation. That is the great secular fact dominating the development of the Church in Canada.

The religious factor is a quickened religious life which has made us all in Canada work together for a Christian Canadian people, in revivals (and there have been many), in Evangelical Alliances, Temperance and Social Reforms, Bible Societies, Sunday School Conventions, and a dozen and one ways. This, stimulated by intellectual influences which accentuate the difference between the essentials of Christianity and the punctilios of sects and parties, has tended to break down barriers and bring us all into one great Christian fold. Denominations born in different lands, and at different times, and having

no vital differences between them, may continue to exist apart in their several native places, but when they come to a solid united Dominion, changes will be inevitable, and are bound to come in the direction of bringing them together in a great Church on the scale of the Dominion. It is safe to say that between the call of the great Dominion and the impulse towards Christian fellowship the movement towards Union is as natural and as inevitable as the movement which created the vast Imperial Roman Church in the Roman Empire and the Kirk of Scotland in the vigorous progressive Scottish nation of Reformation times. A new nation has been born and the whole religious trend of our country and times runs in sympathy in the direction of uniting us in a great Church of the nation—in *the Dominion, a Dominion (Evangelical) Church*. We have already seen that the forms of government which that Church would tend to take would be in tune with the ideas of good government embodied in our political system and not unlike those which are proposed for the Union Church.

THE THIRD STUDY.

THE RISE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN, CONGREGATIONALIST AND METHODIST CHURCHES.

WE purpose now to trace out the origin of the three Churches involved in the discussion of Union. We shall find that they grew up at different times and in varying circumstances. They have, however, this in common, that they all arose out of the attempt of an earnest, spiritual-minded body of men to reform some Church, the Roman Catholic or Anglican, as the case might be, which did not easily admit of being reformed. In every case the prime movers found authority for their reforms in Scripture and advocated principles found in the Word of God. Moreover, their methods of interpreting Holy Writ were essentially the same. Consequently, in the fundamental things the three denominations stand on the same foundation. On the other hand, they arose in different times and circumstances and built their institutions with the special need of these in view. Each religious movement fitted itself into its own secular age, or at least its own sphere, as in a mould. Hence variations and differences which have persisted to this day. Finally we shall expect to find

that when the three denominations meet in a new land, with new circumstances playing upon them, transforming and re-moulding them in another mould, but the same for all the three, their circumstantial differences will tend to disappear with the circumstances that created them, and their great fundamental unities will be brought into the clear light of day.

I. THE RISE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

We begin with the oldest of the three, to understand whose origin we must trace out first the rise of the Reformation, then of the Presbyterian ("Reformed") Churches on the Continent, particularly the one at Geneva, and finally of the Church of Scotland modelled on it.

The Unalterable Mediæval Papal Church.

The key to the whole Protestant movement is not so much that the mediæval Papal system had grown corrupt as that it proved impossible to reform. It is conceivable that no Church could have gathered into its fold so many heathen nations, especially in times when poverty and disorder had banished learning and clouded the mind of Europe, without assimilating many crude and even degraded ideas and losing the splendour of its pristine truth. The important question for our purpose is: When earn-

est men would see that this had happened and would try to bring in reforms, could they succeed?

Now the mediæval world built up its vast Church on the basis of an unlimited absolutism. The priest took his place in absolute control of the layman, the bishop of the priest, the Pope of the bishop. The Pope's word was law in every sphere of the Church. He appointed most of the bishops, while his legates—once special messengers—were in the later Mediæval Age, comparatively permanent officials residing in their sphere to organize it as their master might bid, and that master, as the common teaching ran, was infallible. It was proclaimed that this system was divine and unalterable in that it was catholic, apostolic, scriptural, and pre-eminently reasonable. Reform was thus made practically impossible. Pippin and Charlemagne had reformed the Frankish Church of their time by their royal will, but that could no longer be, for the teaching was that as the soul was greater than the body the Church was above the world, the Pope above the Emperor. The monks, who were entrenched in monasteries and who farmed and traded in every country-side, or as "mendicants" thronged the streets of the cities; the priests that ruled from pulpit, altar and confessional; the learned men of the day, teachers and writers, canonists, bishops, legates, Popes and Councils, united in believing the Papacy to be divine and unalterable, and proclaimed this an essential doctrine of Christianity. They tried, as it were, to stereotype the

mediæval ecclesiastical organization for all time and to insist that however the world might change the Church would not and could not change with it.

But every system of government tends to grow antiquated, and consequently to need re-adjustment and reformation, and the abuses of the Papal Church became very grave. It is the penalty of a system that declares itself infallible that re-adjustment and reform, difficult in the most favourable circumstances, are well nigh impossible. Around every institution with great resources men gather, many of them loving it dearly from childhood's day, some making their living through it, some even thriving by its abuses. These all regard the reformer as disloyal, and the prophet as a traitor, and they strike at him accordingly.

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that stonest the prophets and killest them that are sent unto thee."

In a free form of government a general election, or a wave of indignation passing through Parliament or Presbyteries and Assembly, can dismiss the parasites that live upon the body politic, or, as is the usual case, a new generation slowly growing up gradually and almost imperceptibly introduces a fresh atmosphere and a new order of things. It is not so with an absolute monarchy and still less with an infallible Paparchy. Reform is persistently denied, and at last it becomes revolution and disruption.

Attempts at Reform.

A whole succession of great minds rose up to reform the abuses of the mediæval Papacy, some, like Wyclif, by writing books, translating Scripture and training preachers; others, like Huss, mainly by preaching; others again, like Savonarola, rather by political methods. Their end was invariably the same. They were suppressed or dragged to the stake, their followers proscribed, their books, Scripture itself, burned. That would not have been so bad if it had effected something, but it changed nothing. Every attempt at reform made by ecclesiastics themselves was defeated by the vast body of Papal supporters encamped in every land, above all entrenched in the Vatican at Rome. The great conciliar movement of the fifteenth century (Councils of Constance and Basel, etc.), which found its strength in the hierarchy itself and among the kings of the new monarchies just appearing, aimed laudably at giving the Church a constitutional government and reducing the Pope to a constitutional monarch, who should act with the advice of the bishops of the various nations assembled in general council as in a parliament, but it was utterly defeated. On several occasions the cardinals, about to elect one of their number Pope, one and all, in a moment of compunction, took a solemn oath to introduce certain specified reforms, should he be elected Pope. As often the cardinal elected Pontiff forgot his sacred vow. Colet,

Erasmus, and a large circle of intellectuals whose critical historical study of Scripture had brought to light the simple and the fundamental principles of Christian truth; Luther, and a great succession of mystics who got beyond the rites of the Church to a heart-religion built up on faith, laboured by writing, teaching and preaching, and laboured in vain, for in the hour of their greatest expectation their hopes were blighted by Leo X. sending Tetzel on his round of money-raising by the sale of indulgences.

There were, besides the religious abuses, great priestly and Papal exactions on the people which placed the young nations in conflict with the Papal rule and drove princes and merchants to combine to condemn it. Luther gathered behind him all the opposition—the religious by his denunciation of indulgences and by his treatise, "*On the Liberty of a Christian Man*"; the secular and national by his "*Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.*" At the famous Diet of Worms the demand for reform was made (1521).

"The notables do humbly petition your Majesty (Charles V.) that your Majesty would graciously weigh and consider what grievances and abuses are imposed upon the Holy Roman Empire, and are suffered in a variety of ways from the See of Rome, and that your Majesty would graciously see to it that such grievances be removed and a proper, suitable and bearable state of things restored."

Charles V. replied that he would write His Holiness about the complaints, but concerning the authority of the Pope and his decretals there must

be no discussion. That meant, of course, that there would be no reform.

The Reformation.

Reform was refused—after more than a century of agitation, once more definitely refused. The people of Germany now took the matter into their own hands; all Western Europe began to seethe with change, and finally disruption overtook the unalterable, divine Church. In the very hour of catastrophe, when Germany was falling away, Pope Adrian VI., friend of Erasmus, and a sincere and zealous reformer in the monkish sense, tried to cleanse Rome of its parasitism and its irreligion, but he died suddenly, a forlorn soul, as it were, in a strange land. The people of Rome, who had feared that the streams of money and men running to St. Peter and the rivers of appeals through which they grew wealthy would be dried up by a Puritanic reform, were overcome by their good spirits, and placed a wreath on the front door of the physician under whose hands the reforming Pope had died, its dedicatory inscription running, "To the deliverer of his country!" Prophets had been killed, well-meaning ecclesiastics had been defeated, a vast educational and religious revival ignored, and reforming Popes themselves brought to naught. There was manifestly no hope for reform. Accordingly princes and people united to usher in a new Europe and a new ecclesiastical organization. The one was manifestly fitted

into the other, and made a Europe of new nations and of young national Churches.

The Young Nations and Young National Churches.

The principle on which the Reformation was organized was, as we have seen, that the religious revival, as it were, broke up and melted down the ancient institutions and then re-cast them in the secular mould of the time, giving a National Church in each land. Inasmuch as the Reformers based their action on Scripture and employed the same methods of interpretation, all the Churches were organized on similar fundamental principles. Thus the various Communion of the Reformation are, so to say, one family. Especially is it so with regard to their conception of religion and in the matter of their doctrines. But in so far as the political and religious movements in each land combined to recast the institutions, the outward forms of the Churches, in particular their forms of government, became as many and varied as the political frame-works of the countries affected. In Germany, a land of little principalities, we get a series of little Churches ruled by their princes, dukes or margraves, after the despotical manner of that age, bishops being swept away. In England the bishops had been the most useful servants of the Crown, as, for example, were Morton and Wolsey, while the people, as by instinct, clung to ancient forms and in particular to monarchical government. Accordingly, only such

changes as seemed absolutely necessary were made, and monarchical government by bishops was retained. On the other hand, in the little aristocratic republics in the Swiss Confederation oligarchical and republican forms of rule had come into existence and there the Reformation took its more radical cast. Thus we have a series of Established Churches whose forms of government were the religious counterpart of the particular state or principality of which they were part and parcel.

The "Reformed Churches" of the Continent.

The republican Churches, as opposed to the more conservative Lutheran and Anglican Churches, are known on the continent by the name "Reformed," in the Anglo-Saxon world by the description "Presbyterian." The mind which did most to mould them was John Calvin, the master-spirit of the Genevan Church. He was a Frenchman, well educated, and a believer in the critical-historical method of interpreting the Bible as far as it was then employed. He had the logical mind of his race. In a systematic and objective way that left all the other reformers behind him, he drew out from Scripture a logical scheme of belief and of government. He found the pastor, elder and deacon to be the officers of the New Testament Church, as also he saw that the practice of election was scriptural. This fitted in well with the spirit of the new-born republic of Geneva. In fact, the struggle against the bishop, who owned and ruled Geneva as a prince, and the revolt against

the bishop's Church, that is the Papacy, went hand in hand and issued in a little republic and a little republican State Church quite closely moulded each to the other. When these republican forms of church government got away from Geneva they shook off the purely local features and took the shape which we now know as Presbyterianism, with its Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and Assembly. In all those lands in which the people carried the Reformation in the teeth of their government, or tried to do so, in Holland, Bohemia, Hungary, France and notably Scotland, this form of church government was adopted as affording an admirable combination of freedom and authority, of local liberty and national unity.

The Church of Scotland.

The fundamental conceptions and the organization of the "Reformed Churches" will, for our purpose, be best exemplified in the Church of Scotland, from which the Presbyterianism of Canada is more or less directly descended.

The Spiritual Solidarity of all Christians in One Church.

Let the Scottish Confession of Faith (1560) give us the "Reformed" conception of the Church and other fundamental principles.

"As we believe in ane God, Father, Sonne and holy Ghaist, sa we maist constantly beleve that from the beginning there hes bene and now is and to the end of the

world sall be, ane Kirk, that is to say, ane company and multitude of men chosen of God who richtly worship and imbrace him be trew faith in Christ Jesus, quha is the only head of the same kirk. . . . This kirk is invisible knawen onelie to God wha alane knawis wham He hes chosen."—Art. 16.

This is a beautiful description of the spiritual solidarity seen in the New Testament, and an emphatic declaration that the Church is constituted by Christians and not Christian institutions. Moreover, it makes the individual's Christian life consist in his faith in Jesus Christ and in God's choice of him for salvation, and robs all, ecclesiastics, Pope, bishop or presbyter, of the power of rejecting anyone from the unseen community of believers, and so far it enunciates the freedom of the Christian man.

The Hall-marks of the True Church.

The mediæval conception of religion had been priestly. The priest constituted the Church and not the Christians. His supreme function was to say prayers and be a mediator between God and man. The Reformation conception was like that of the New Testament, prophetic, its pivot being the preacher preaching God's Word, administering the sacraments and ruling the folk with a view to strict morality. Hence the Scottish Confession's description of the outward and visible Church:

"The notes therefore of the trew Kirk of God we beleeve, confesse, and avow to be, first the trew preaching of the Worde of God. . . . secondly the right adminis-

tration of the Sacraments of Jesus Christ. . . . Last, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministred, as Goddis Worde prescribes."—Art. 18.

The Authority of the Scriptures.

"As we beleewe and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels."—Art. 19.

In all these features, belief in the unity of the invisible Church, in preaching, the sacraments and discipline as the hall-marks of the visible Church, and in the Scripture as the authority for believers, the three Churches under consideration stand together, as also they do in their common sense of their freedom to readjust the forms of church government; it is when these forms are examined that differences due to the secular factors which moulded the several Communion begin to appear.

A Solid National Church of Scotland.

In Scotland the Reformation was a national movement. Noble, laird, merchant and peasant combined to build up a national religious organization. It was carried by the Scottish Estates (Parliament) or what claimed to be such. Accordingly they gave form to a system which embodied the unseen spiritual unity in a visible organic union as wide as Scotland and as deep as the lowest stratum in its society. The organization of the Scottish Church must not

be thought of as being the imposition of a New Testament constitution at a stroke of the pen—a point which has its bearing on our movement towards Union. It grew gradually as the New Testament ministry grew out of religious activities and diverse ministrations and as the Methodist ministry grew two centuries later, until it filled the whole land. Scotland was already divided into *parishes*. First of all began the process of reforming these, and placing pastors, kirk sessions and bodies of deacons in them, after the manner of the New Testament. Soon there appeared the *General Assembly* (December 20th, 1560). In these early times, when there were few who could be made ministers, officers were in evidence who remind one of the New Testament peripatetic ministry* and of the Methodist itinerating preachers and local preachers. *Superintendents* moved up and down “districts corresponding not very exactly with the Episcopal dioceses”; there were besides (local) *exhorters*, men who were not educated enough to be pastors, but were allowed to give addresses. These, as in the Early Church, died out. The ministers in the superintendent’s districts began to meet together and thus the *Synods* grew up, their boundaries coinciding roughly with the ancient dioceses; and finally the “weekly exercises” or gatherings of the clergy and elders of a number of congregations for consultation, administrative and religious, developed into *presbyteries*. As the pres-

* Only their sphere was geographically defined.

byteries were at first little more than informal meetings they did not take the boundaries of the county but grew up around some town convenient as a meeting-place for the ministers of the district.

The Church was the Nation Organized for Religious Purposes.

This finely organized Church established by law of the land was the nation in its religious aspect as the Scottish Estates were the nation in its civil aspect. They were one, in fact, but diverse in their officers and their methods.

"10. The civil power should command the spiritual to exercise and do their office according to the word of God: the spirituall Rulers (rulers) should require the Christian Magistrate to minister Justice and punish Vice and to maintain the Liberty and Quietnes of the Kirk within their Bounds.

"11. The Magistrate commands externall things for externall Peace and Quietnes amongis the Subjects: The Minister handles externall Things onlie for Conscience

"The civil Magistrat craves and gettis Obedience be the Sword and other externall Meanis. But the Ministerie be the spiritual Sword and spirituall Meanis."—Second Book of Discipline, 1581.

A finer expression of the ideal of a National Church in a great State could hardly be found.

National not Individual Liberty.

A Church as big as the nation and as solidly one as the nation was Scotland's ideal—so much so that

the Scottish people carried it out at the expense of the freedom of the individual. It was national liberty to reform and govern the land free from the rule of the Pope, not individual liberty, that they established, and no other form of worship than that of the Kirk could lawfully propagate itself in Scotland. The Scots would let the people of other lands worship as they saw right, but not so their own folk. Scottish ministers would recognize the Lutheran Church as long as it stayed in Germany, and the Church of England so long as it duly observed the border. John Knox might act as preacher in the Church of England, in the parish of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, or as chaplain of Edward VI., and Anglican ministers could doubtless have done the like north of the border, but in Scotland and England, severally, there was only to be one Church, and to that all citizens must conform. However, inasmuch as the Scottish Kirk had won the whole nation and was a truly national Church the people conformed willingly. All this was in keeping with the universal Reformation ideal of organization in National Churches. Local solidarity was maintained, although the external unity of Christendom was destroyed. People could not at that time conceive of anything but one Church in each land, and one kirk in each parish.

1. Its Bearing on Union.

From this point of view a movement which promises, as does Union in Canada, to build up a Church

on a national scale should find warm support among those who are more or less directly the children of the National Church, the Kirk of Scotland. A readjustment of the religious organization of our land which will issue in but one church in many a spot and but one body in many a country-side, and which will come something near a (Protestant) Church of the Dominion, should find ample sympathy among such as regard the ideal days of Scottish religion as being those when there was but one church in each parish and one Kirk in the whole land. All the more should it be so as within the Union they will be free to call their own ministers from Scotland, if they will, to continue their Scottish forms of worship, and in some measure (I hope in a large measure) to uphold the fine traditions of the motherland. It would, indeed, be a strange piece of irony if devotion to the mother National Church, which for better or for worse we have left behind us, should bar the way to progress towards something like a national Church in the daughter land.

2. The National Point of View Characteristic of Presbyterianism.

It would be superfluous to enlarge upon the great achievements of Scottish Presbyterianism. Part of the credit may be due to the Scottish blood and part is certainly due to the pure religion nurtured within the Church, but it was no inconsiderable factor that the Kirk of Scotland was the Church of the whole

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 115

nation. Thus it was possible for Church and State to place a school in each parish, an academy in the county town or other larger town, while above these were the three older universities of Glasgow, Aberdeen and St. Andrew, to which the Reformation added the University of Edinburgh, all of them frequented by all ranks in the nation, rich and poor. When England was provided but irregularly with schools, and when her higher seats of learning were the perquisites of the rich, Presbyterianism gave Scotland a national system of education and created in the land a fund of intelligence which has become almost notorious.

Moreover, the free forms of government in the Church must have done much to nurture that love of freedom which enabled little Scotland to play a decisive part in the struggle for the liberties of the British Constitution. It was no accident, when all Scotland crossed the border to overthrow Laud and bring Charles I. to recognize the rights of the people to have their say in State and Church, that the clergy marched among their leaders.

The Church of Scotland could only have exercised such a masterly influence in creating the character of the Scottish nation and maintaining its freedom through being organized in close sympathy with the people on a national scale. An equally great mission lies before the Christianity of Canada. To plant a church in every hamlet and country-side in the Dominion and to bring all Canadians into vital touch

with the things of God and the mercies of the Gospel is but part of that mission. There is the national side of the Church's duty which, while it keeps itself clear from all party platforms, consists in teaching the people to weigh the spiritual as well as the commercial import of their policies and to raise up a citizenship of such character and such ideals as that it will make a wise and noble use of that splendid system of government, which is our heritage, to build up here in this new land a social fabric whose foundation stones will be marked with the name of Christ. The more Canadian Christianity is organized on the scale of the Dominion the more clearly will it see its duty and the more power will it have to accomplish its mission, and it would be strange, indeed, if affection for the minor matters of Scottish religion should hamper Canadian Christianity in organizing itself on a national scale and in accomplishing for Canada that major mission which the Scottish national religion has, to its unending glory, achieved for its own people. May we not rather say that it is because we are the children of the ancient Kirk of Scotland, see things whole, and lay such stress upon national religion that, conservative people though we be, and wedded to the forms of historic Presbyterianism, the Union movement has taken its hold upon us with such extraordinary facility, sweeping old and young in its train, teaching old men to dream dreams, and making young men to see visions.

3. *A Perfect Constitution.*

A last point must be noted. How splendidly the Presbyterian Constitution guards against the irreformability which was the curse of the Papal system from which it revolted! A movement for reform may pass by regular procedure through Kirk-session to Presbytery, to Synod and Assembly, then by the Barrier Act back to the Presbyteries, and so to a second and final decision in General Assembly. If only the people desire the change it will be accomplished. At first sight it is a perfect constitution and appears to maintain unity while leaving ample room for liberty. Much, however, depends upon the situation within the Church, and more upon the way in which the leaders of all parties handle it. It meant much for Scottish Presbyterianism that the whole Kirk was permeated with a common spirit. As the older generation would loose its grip the younger would step up to take its hold. New vigour and a fresh character would be given to the machinery, yet the Church remained essentially the same.

The Constitution has not prevented Schisms.

However, as if to show that a perfect constitution is far from being everything, Scottish Presbyterianism has had its Secession and its Disruption.

The Secession was due to a majority refusing to believe that it could be mistaken and trying to suppress criticism of their action or agitation against it.

The General Assembly in the hands of a majority,

which had lost its appreciation of the liberties of the people, passed an Act restricting the right of voting in the call of a minister to the elders and the "heritors" of the town council, as the case might be. Ebenezer Erskine, a zealous and evangelically minded minister, had the temerity to treat the decision of General Assembly as a mistake and to agitate against it. He was called to the bar of the court and rebuked. Against this he protested in the memorable words:—

"To imagine all acts of Assembly to be standards of discipline is to enslave our conscience to the humors and rash decisions of men."

The angry majority deprived him of his charge. Erskine, with a few sympathizing ministers, and ultimately with his brother, Ralph Erskine, formed what was called "The Associate Presbytery," or the Church of the Secession. This off-shoot of the Church of Scotland, through its two branches, known as the Burgher and Anti-Burgher, did much afterwards to provide Nova Scotia (Colchester and Pictou Counties) with trained ministers, but its mere emergence planted a root of bitterness in Scottish religion and is sufficient to show that in spite of the magnificent constitution of the Presbyterian Church it is possible for a majority so to conduct itself as to leave little room for earnest, spiritually-minded men within the borders of the Church. It is the very life's breath of our religious democracy that men have the right to their opinions, and that if they believe that the Church is going wrong it is their duty to agitate.

For bodies of men, and above all for the church-courts, to treat such as in any sense disloyal, or to try to suppress them or ignore them, is to make the policy of the Church rigid and unalterable, to make it difficult or even impossible to insert changes for the better, and to expose the Church, as the Papacy was exposed, by its irreformability, to schism and disruption.

It is not necessary to go into that other and greatest breach in the Unity of the Kirk, namely, *the Disruption*, further than to say that it was due to a majority in the General Assembly being denied its will by the political partner in the Establishment. The judges declared the ecclesiastical acts taken in the direction of abolishing patronage, and particularly aimed at the prevention of the intrusion of ministers into unwilling congregations, to be illegal. This, of course, issued in the rule of the minority of the General Assembly over the majority. It denied that the Church had the right to govern herself in spiritual matters according to her own constitution. It denied to the majority change for the better. It made reform impossible. Hence the Disruption. The many embodied its policy in the "Claim of Right" carried in General Assembly by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one. The Home Secretary declared in the House of Commons of "these pretensions of the Church of Scotland" that "the sooner they were extinguished the better." There followed the Disruption, when four hundred and seventy-four ministers—two-fifths of the entire number in the

Kirk—left manses, stipends and all the earthly goods the State had given, to form a new body, *the Free Church of Scotland* (1843), and a fountain of bitterness was opened up in every parish in the land. One might almost say, for the first time, only seventy years ago, the age-long solidarity of Scottish religion in most of the parishes, and even in the country taken as a whole, was broken up. This was nothing short of a national calamity, but division is apparently not to be a permanency in Scotland. It would be out of place to inquire whether the men of the Disruption did or did not too easily sacrifice unity for liberty, and whether a more patient course would have ended in the maintenance of both. It is enough that Scottish Presbyterianism has not ceased to bear its testimony to the value of national religious unity, that the churches of the Secession and the Disruption are now in a great Union, and that first discussions have already taken place with a view to binding up the whole of Presbyterian Scotland once more in a vast organism on the scale of the nation itself.

To return to our point, it would appear, then, that the greatest schisms in the Kirk of Scotland were due, the one to the majority having its way unchecked, and the other to the minority having it in its power to defeat the majority. It only shows that a good constitution is not enough. It must be carried on by great men. Large minds, a steady vision, insight into an opponent's sentiments and loyalties, above all the ability to see things whole, are absolutely necessary to safeguard even the finest govern-

ing system. To secure these we want some steady principle as that which we have advocated at such length at the end of our first study—that all Christians have a right to contribute to the welfare of the Church. A fixed policy which would aim at including in its letter and spirit as far as possible the main ideals of all groups in the Church will make for peace and orderly progress. That is the only safe way to Union, and it is the only means of maintaining a great Union Church without disruption. We should even contemplate the possibility of a minority of ministers working with perfect comfort in their own way for a minority of congregations or Sunday schools, all within the general uniformity, as shall be indicated in our last pages. Starting with various elements, at times in conflict, such a policy and such a spirit would lead a great Union Church through many a difficult place until differences should be materially softened, and all grow into a homogeneous and happy ecclesiastical family towards whose characteristics each group would have given its contribution. At all times it should be our duty to have every sentiment in the church find its voice, so that the policy of our rulers may be as all-inclusive as possible, and so that the minority of the time may know the comparative content that comes to those who have said their say, who have fought their fight and been beaten, or, as oftener happens, made terms, in an open and fair field.

The writer recalls a chapter in S. R. Crockett's *Stickit Minister*, entitled "Trials for License," in

which the parties in Presbytery have a battle royal over licensing a clever young minister thought to be unsound. The ecclesiastical storm had come to its climax.

“‘I move we proceed to license,’ says oor minister, verra qualte ; so efter a show o’ hands an’ a bit grummle, they juist did that ; but there was some warm wark efter the young men had gaen out, an’ yince it lookit as if the neaves micht sune be goin’ ; but it cleared up verra sudden and when a’ was dune and they cam’ oot, they war a’ as thick as thieves—an Maister Bourtree, nae less, gaed roon shakin’ hands wi’ everybody, an’ sayin’: ‘Whatna graun day we’ve had the day, there’s been some life in Pittscottle presbytery this day, something worth comin’ doun frae Muldow for!’ But I’m no’ so sure that it was as great fun for the puir lad frae Enbra’. He said to mysel’ he was glad he was gaun awa’ to the Cannibal Islands, an’ no settlin’ in oor pairt o’ the country.”

This is the real genius of Scottish Presbyterianism, expressed with the saving salt of humour, the fearless upholding of the ancient faith, the equally courageous demand that we move forward—together a battle royal. Then the parties having borne their testimony fall to finding a generous course of action. Last of all comes the sense of a common brotherhood and the loud proclamation that to differ and discuss is but a symptom of life, and finally to agree is Christian, and “Is it not grand to be in a Church like this?” The system, however, has its discomforts as well as its inspiration.

II. THE RISE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

The National Church of England.

The Reformation in England as in Scotland was a national religious movement and created a national Church of England. So far as belief was concerned this Church was thoroughly reformed and no formula of Protestant faith is simpler or more beautiful than the Thirty-nine Articles, but so far as outward rites and administration were concerned no clear-cut, well-thought-out, logical system like Calvin's Presbyterianism was produced. Rather things were left as far as possible the same. The result was a gravely defective governmental system. If there were call for reform in the Presbyterian body, it could be carried, as we have seen, point by point, as the public conscience became aroused, through Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assembly, to a sort of plebiscite under the Barrier Act, and finally to its triumph at a second consideration in General Assembly. But there was no such constitutional means of carrying reform in the Church of England.

The Unalterable Church of England.

The theory of the Church was in England as in Scotland that the Church and State were one, and that the nation was organized on the one side as a secular institution, on the other as a religious society.

Hence the Act of Uniformity, passed by Parliament, making it the law of the land that all should worship in the Church of England. Englishmen could tolerate the Lutheran Church, or the Genevan, so long as they remained abroad, but in England there could be but one Communion. Hence, the King, the Lords and the Commons had much to do with the Church, as the Church had much concern in the national welfare. So far we have neither more nor less than what we have seen in Scotland. The great difference lay in the power of the Crown, which under the last Tudors and the early Stuarts was almost absolute. This was particularly so in the sphere of ecclesiastical government. English sovereigns had always had much authority even over the Papal English Church. Now, as the only Head on earth of the Church, they added to that all the power formerly wielded by the Pope. Not that only, but Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. claimed that their ecclesiastical power was beyond the control of Parliament—was a royal prerogative, in fact. The Crown appointed all the bishops and the rectors of many parishes. These nominee bishops made appointments to another row of parishes. Thus, Queen Elizabeth appointed all the members of the Upper House in the two Convocations (of Canterbury and York) and most of the clergy in the Lower House. All the resources of the Church and its whole policy were at her disposal. There was no means of carrying reform, either through the Convocations, the governing bodies of the Church, or through Parliament,

the organ of the State, unless the sturdy queen would consent.

All Englishmen to be in One Church.

None the less, Queen Elizabeth formulated no ignoble policy. The ardent Protestants and the mild Catholics were to be welded into one body—the Church of all Englishmen. The Thirty-Nine Articles were conceded to the Protestants. In order to conciliate and retain the Catholics, who still formed one-half of the nation, the outward forms of religion were changed as little as possible. Hence certain features in the Book of Common Prayer and the retention of certain priestly robes. The episcopal office was still there. The old parish priests were to be kept on, provided only they would remain loyal and read the prayers in English. Sacerdotal theories of the Episcopate, of the communion or mass, and the priestly robes were really left in abeyance, though at times repudiated. Without asking any questions or propounding theological theories all Englishmen were to worship together until they should be one in their practice and faith as they were already one in their loyalty to the Crown. It is conceivable that Queen Elizabeth's policy would have been a supreme success if the governing machinery of the Church had been such that as public opinion grew it could have registered itself in changes in the church system, if features to which the more zealous objected might have been gradually eliminated and others of great spiritual import engrafted into the system, but, as

is the way with autocratic rulers, the Queen identified her policy with the forms and regulations made at the beginning, and these she was little inclined to change. They were held to be unalterable, and those who agitated against them were regarded as disloyal. They were lodged in gaol for contumacy, and some even executed for rebelliousness.

Priest or Prophet for Clergyman?

The Reformation was built up upon the idea that the duty of the minister was not merely to say prayers, but rather to preach God's Word. It wanted prophets and not priests, and we have already seen that the "Reformed Churches" as in Presbyterian Scotland made the "notes" of the True Church, preaching the Word, administering the sacrament according to the Word, and disciplining the people by God's Word. The Protestant section in England was being led in Elizabeth's time by men who during the days of Bloody Mary had found refuge on the Continent, mostly in Switzerland, where they grounded themselves in the "Reformed" or Calvinist views of religion. They do not seem to have objected to the Elizabethan settlement or the system of bishops, but they were chagrined at her retention of priests whose sole duty was saying prayers, and they called for a preaching ministry—in a word, for prophets and not priests. Consequently, they were opposed to the retention of certain priestly robes and rites. They did not repudiate

the Book of Common Prayer, but they did object to the episcopal regulation that the old priest should remain in charge of his parish if he could read those prayers and would preach at least once in three months. Moreover, the appointments made by the bishops and patrons to the parishes were often made without due regard to the spirituality or learning necessary in an efficient clergy. Consequently the advanced men wanted, after the manner of Geneva, to have some say, the ministers in the ordaining, the laymen in the appointing of the clergy, so that the pulpits would be filled with preachers.

The Puritan Party.

These advanced Protestants gradually drew together into a body of men acting for common ends. Because they strove after a Church whose teaching, administration and discipline should be in keeping with "pure" New Testament principles, they became known as "The Puritans," but they will be better understood if we think of them as trying to engraft into the English Church the three "notes" of a true church—preaching, sacraments according to the New Testament, and discipline of the people by the clergy. The Puritans were Englishmen and patriots. They were willing to compromise about much, but this ideal they refused to abandon. However, with a true English instinct for unity they were anxious not to break up the solidarity of the Church. They, accordingly, set themselves to secure reforms by constitutional means, by Parliament and

by engrafting institutions into the Church of England.

Attempts to reform by Parliament fail.

The Elizabethan Parliaments were probably more Puritan in sentiment than the country at large, for Roman Catholics would refuse to take seats on account of the Oath of Supremacy. The Puritan party, consequently, expected much from Parliament and urged it to action on many occasions. A good idea of their aims may be seen in one of their petitions entitled *An Admonition to Parliament*, 1672.

"May it, therefore, please your wysedomes to understand we in England are so fere of frome having a church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of Gods Worde, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. . . . The outwarde markes whereby a true Christian church is knowne, are preaching of the worde purely, ministring of the sacraments sincerely and ecclesiastical discipline which consisteth in admonition and correction of faults severelle . . . "

The abuses are amply enlarged upon.

" . . . Now, by the letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sorte of the people (to the sclander of the Gospell in the mouthes of the adversaries) are freely received (i.e., as rectors in the parishes) . . . We allow and like wel of popish masse mongers, men for all seasons, Kyng Henries priests, Kyng Edwards priests, Queene Maries priestes, who of a truth (yf God's worde were precisely followed) should from the same be utterly removed . . . "

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 129

It is enough to say that though Parliament was on the whole on the side of the Puritans, and passed bills in their sense, the attempt to effect reform by the political machine failed. The resistance of the Queen proved insuperable.

Attempts to Reform the Church from Within Fail.

Queen Elizabeth was far from ungenerous to the Puritan party. She was sincerely anxious to reconcile them to her settlement of the religious question. She and her bishops appointed some Puritans to parishes, and sympathetic noblemen, who as patrons had the right of appointment to livings, added to their number. Still others received from the bishops licenses to preach and used to have preaching services in the churches at times which would not conflict with the incumbent's reading of the prayers. It was exactly one of those situations in which under a free system of government a self-governing Church might, point by point, have removed its defects and engrafted fresh and living institutions upon the old, but, throughout, the queen and her bishops were immovable. The Puritans arranged, where they could, to have preachers in the parish churches, to have quarterly communion, to have the lives of communicants judged by the Word of God—all within the existing Church of England, often after the parish priest was through with his prayers. They organized after the manner of the Scottish "weekly exercise" meetings of ministers and preachers, open

to all, but specially devised to train the clergy to preach. All preachers of their way of thinking in a certain area came together to expound and to learn to preach the Word. The old English name given to these meetings, "prophesyings" (preachings), indicates the ideal for the minister as being the prophetic and not the priestly. These prophesyings were, however, suppressed. There was even formed a scheme of "*classes*" (presbyteries) under a national synod by which the Puritan party within the Church of England—a church within a church—could attain their ends. For example, men trained and approved by the Presbytery as preachers would be recommended to the bishop for ordination. But before the scheme gathered strength it also was crushed by the queen's bishops. The more the queen and her bishops barred the way to progress, the more the Puritan party looked to Presbyterianism, which gave the power in the Church to the people and their elected ministry. It is almost pathetic the manner in which these *Presbyterian Church of Englanders* refused to divide the Church, but tried every expedient to introduce a preaching disciplinary ministry into her fold, and tried in vain. Finally, losing all hope in Queen Elizabeth, now grown old, they waited patiently for her successor, Presbyterian James from Scotland, to come and grant them the desire of their hearts, but, alas! at the Hampton Court Conference, where they renewed their request for a preaching ministry and pleaded that the Christian Society have power to appoint its own officers, their hopes were

blighted. The century-long alliance of the Episcopate and Monarchy, both of them aiming at absolutism by Divine Right, was sealed when James I. made his pronouncement, "No bishop, no king," and the Archbishop of Canterbury said that His Majesty undoubtedly spoke by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost. Reform was refused; the alternative was revolution and disruption.

The Congregationalist Churches.

A much more impatient element, sturdy out-and-outers, existed among the Puritans almost from the beginning. They early came to the conviction that there was no chance of reforming the Church of England in their sense, and, as we shall see, their judgment of the case proved sound. After the fashion of the Lollards and of the Protestants in Bloody Queen Mary's time, they began to hold their own meetings in houses and in halls. In 1565-6 the Archbishop of Canterbury had declared all licenses given to preachers void, and in order to secure their renewal preachers had to promise among many good things to "keep and maintain such order and uniformity in all external polity, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church as by the Laws, good Usages and Orders are already well provided and established." A number refused to promise and were deprived of their licenses or their livings. Some of these went to Scotland. It is after this, in 1567, that we get our first glimpse of a little congregation of one hun-

dred persons worshipping in the Plumbers' Hall in London. A considerable number of them were taken to the Bridewell prison and held for a year, when they were discharged. In the next year (1568) a group of two hundred, with "ordained ministers, elders and deacons," was discovered and its leaders arrested. Among the documents in the State Paper Office, one signed by Richard Fytz, *minister*, is apparently a defence. It is superscribed, "*The True Markes of Christ's Church, etc.,*" and indicates that these are:

"First and foremost, the glorious word and Evangel preached not in bondage and subjection, but freely and purely. Secondly, to have the Sacraments ministered purely only and altogether according to the institution and good word of the Lord Jesus . . . Last of all, to have not the filthy canon law, but discipline only and altogether agreeable to the same heavenly and Almighty Word."

This is the fundamental view of the Church throughout Congregationalism, and shows that it is of the Reformation stock, of the "Reformed" or Calvinistic branch, own cousin to Scottish Presbyterianism, whose "notes" of the "Trew kirk" have been already given. This, with its Calvinistic theology and its sense of the freedom of Christians to readjust their forms of government, always with reference to the New Testament, and of the people's right to elect their ministers, marks out the fundamental unity of the two bodies.

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 133

The Divergent Views of Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Their diverging from one another appears when we come to consider the forms of church government, for here secular circumstances had a formative influence. The Scottish Reformation was the movement of a whole nation and created a national system, the solid Church of a whole people. Congregationalism was the creation one after another of small bands of stalwarts, of little groups of out-and-outers, who gathered in some hall to form a congregation, worshipping after the dictates of their own hearts. They are apt to be known by the name of their pastor—e.g., the Brownists, the Barrowists. In 1577, Queen Elizabeth had pronounced against the prophesyings. Before 1581, Robert Browne had gathered a number of Christians at Norwich, into a "gathered church." The ideal by which his course was marked was very much moulded by the actual situation. He had no faith in Reform within the Church. Subsequent events showed that his judgment was thoroughly justified. His view is manifest in the title of one of his pamphlets, "*Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for Anie*" (1582). He had no faith in the National Church, or in its territorial parishes, but in the company brought together by common religious interests.

"The Church planted or gathered is a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in one holy communion."

All that self-government and leadership and headship of Christ which the Presbyterian thought of as residing in the Kirk of the nation the Congregationalist ascribed to the "gathered church" with ample reference to Scripture. For governing purposes the whole congregation assembles to elect its officers (pastor, elder, deacon) and to discipline its members. Each congregation is a little republic, the home of democracy. Inasmuch as the Christian joins himself to the church, not because he is an Englishman, but in virtue of a spiritual covenant with God, he is free, and neither the State nor the Church can compel him.

"To compel religion, to plant churches by power and to enforce a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties belongeth not to (magistrates) . . . neither yet to the Church."—*Treatise*, etc.

(An exception was always made in the matter of "idolatrous" rites.)

Thus Congregationalism sowed the seed of individual religious liberty and made the bed in which toleration, that gentlest and rarest flower of modern social life, should grow.

Early Congregations.

On one side and another congregations were formed more or less upon Brownist principles. In 1586 a congregation grew up in London under Henry Barrow, but in 1593, along with a colleague, he was hanged at Tyburn, and "separatism" well nigh

suppressed. The Barrowists fled across the sea to Amsterdam, where the Presbyterians of the land would not disturb them because they were foreigners and preached in a foreign tongue. About 1602 a congregation grew up at Gainsborough, and another near by at Scrooby Manor. The pressure of the law even under James I., the former hope of the Puritan party, drove these also into exile in Holland—to Amsterdam and to Leyden. From the exiled Separatists in Holland as from a fountain-head there trickled out into England and America those streamlets which now form the great currents of Congregationalism the world over. The exiles could see clearly that to remain in Holland was to have their children intermarry with the Dutch, and finally have the community merged into an alien people.

American Congregationalism.

One group received permission from James I. to found a settlement in America. From Leyden they crossed to Southampton and Plymouth, and thence on the ship *Mayflower* they ventured the Atlantic, landing at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts, on December 21st, 1620.

"They left that goodly and pleasant city (Leyden) which had been their resting-place near twelve years, but they were *Pilgrims* and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."

These were the *Pilgrim Fathers*, the founders of the vast Congregationalist community of the neigh-

boring Republic, from which, I suppose, most of the Congregationalist churches in Canada are derived. They also were the formative influence in building up a great State, the first to be founded on their own church principles, and which in this matter has fundamentally influenced Canada in all its denominations, Presbyterian, and even Anglican and Roman Catholic. In the great Republic men first saw a State without a State Church, a democratic government of the people without control of their religious beliefs and practices, and, the natural logical sequence, a perfect neutrality on the part of the government towards all faiths; there men first learned lessons of religious freedom, and of peace and goodwill among men in virtue of toleration and the equality of all churches. When the Canadians came to lay down the foundation of their own State, so different in most other matters, they made it firm upon these principles. They found peace by the way of toleration and the equality of all Christian communions in the eyes of the law. Humanly speaking, without this our negotiations for Union had never been. Altogether it would be hard to over-estimate the contribution, direct or indirect, to the present and future of the Canadian people and Canadian Christianity made by Congregationalism and the United States in this matter.

An aspect worthy of note is, that if the State be neutral to all religious bodies, then the tie which unites men in a Church is not as it was in the old Kirk of Scotland in fact, though it was otherwise in theory, the law of the land, but a spiritual tie, com-

mon faith and common practice, while the unity of the church must be maintained, not by penal laws, but by intellectual and religious conviction, by moral suasion, and not by judicial process. Thus of necessity, and by the very constitution of our Dominion, Presbyterianism has been forced away from its reliance on the support of the State to take up more unreservedly the Congregationalist view that the Church is a spiritual society held together by a Holy Covenant sealed by the Blood of the Lamb—a view which it holds in common with Methodism, and which renders Union possible on equal terms, and on conditions which preserve the self-respect of all concerned.

English Congregationalism.

Some of the exiles in Holland returned to England and founded here and there "gathered churches." The tendency at this time, the second century after the Reformation, prevalent in all Reformation lands, to regard Scripture more and more rigidly as a book of laws—theological and governmental laws—to be strictly enforced, led to a search even keener than that of Calvin to find in the New Testament the actual Constitution prevailing in the early Church. That Constitution once found had a Divine Right and could tolerate none beside it. This issued in a Divine Right of Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, as the case might be. Now, no Church can believe in its own Divine Right and tolerate an opponent Church. The result was that the old general sense of unity in Protestantism began to break up. When the third generation of Protest-

ants began to ascribe to hard-and-fast systems of theology and government the same authority as Scripture, divisions and religious struggles waxed apace. It may well have been an increased clearness of vision that enabled some Congregationalists in Holland to conclude that the New Testament "pastor" was really but another name for elder, but there were sharp divisions on the point, and finally English Congregationalism took the new view as to its form of government, the pastor being ranked as an elder.

The Baptists.

Similarly, it is quite possible that the supporters of adult baptism and immersion were bringing into clearer view certain aspects of New Testament truth, that the Christian religion is not a national matter, but a personal relationship with God; that, therefore, the Church is the voluntary association in a congregation of adults who have consciously placed their faith in their Redeemer; and that the admission to her must be of adults able to think and decide for themselves. The Scriptural mode of reception was found to be baptism by immersion, and was made obligatory. Thus there arose within the Congregational group that body which we know as Baptist. They hold all the Congregationalist views about the spirituality of the Church, about the non-interference of the State in the affairs of the Christian society, and, as we shall see, they were early advocates of religious liberty and toleration.

III. SUBSEQUENT RELATIONS OF PRESBYTERIANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Doctrines of Divine Right Fatal to Unity.

It seems an inevitable law that religious movements at their inception devote themselves to men, while the after-generations spend themselves on the institutions. Thus Christianity goes out into the Roman Empire to seek and save the lost, and in doing so builds up great theological creeds and a fine governmental system. Now a row of ecclesiastics begins to proclaim these as divine and to sacrifice the man to the institutions, and the persecuted Church finishes by being a persecuting Church. Similarly the Reformation at the beginning devoted itself much to bringing men to a living faith in Jesus Christ, and to a vital appreciation of the Bible as the Word of God, and in doing its work it built up its own theological and governmental institutions. Inasmuch as these differed in the various lands there was a certain largeness of vision which forced Reformers not to press the views they drew from Scripture too far. Provided Edward VI. would establish a preaching ministry in the English Church, Calvin was perfectly willing to tolerate Episcopacy, though he did not find it in Scripture. Nothing could more pungently illustrate the point than the famous preaching duel between Richard Hooker, Master of the Temple in London, and Walter Travis, the Puri-

tan afternoon lecturer in that church. Judges and barristers flocked to hear Hooker develop his Anglican doctrines at the morning service and Travis reply on Puritan lines in the afternoon. "The pulpit spoke pure Canterbury in the morning, and Geneva in the afternoon." But imperceptibly the institutions of this or that reformed body or Church became the supreme object of care to the ecclesiastics. Zealots gave the force of the Bible to what were only their interpretations of it, ascribing to Episcopacy, Presbyterianism or Congregationalism, as the case might be, a divine authority, a *jus divinum*, to be enforced at all hazards. Thus they sacrificed the freedom of men's minds and the peace of the Church to the institutions they idolized. Moreover, the monarchy, which had been regarded from mediæval times as an office held of God, but subordinate to the Pope, became supreme in Protestant times, for it now held the Church in its power and found none to restrain its absolutism. The monarch also turned to Scripture as to a book of laws and found his texts on which to base a doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.

"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."—Romans 13: 1-6; 1 Pet. 2: 13-17.

The bishop, the presbyter, the congregation and the king all believed that they held their power *jure divino*, and quoted their texts to prove it. Now it is, as we have said, in the nature of things that a system of theology or government which has divine authority cannot tolerate any other which has not.

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 141

The monarch in the Church and the monarch in the State, the bishop and the king, both by Divine Right, combined to fight democracy by Divine Right, whether it be in the Presbyterian or Congregationalist communities. The struggle extended to the whole body politic, and that league between the bishop and the king to govern first the Church and then the land without Parliament by the prerogative of the Crown began, only to end when Roman Catholic James II. stupidly broke up the unhallowed alliance by imprisoning the seven English bishops, for the Whigs in the moment of its disruption brought William and Mary in and established for good the Constitutional Monarchy.

Presbyterians and Congregationalists Against the Bishops and the King.

The struggle began when Charles I. and Archbishop Laud imposed on the Scottish Church by royal prerogative a prayer-book revised by the Archbishop. Jennie Geddes threw her stool at the officiating clergyman, and all Scotland rallied to the Covenant. Charles I. found he had not the resources to master the sturdy Presbyterian Kingdom of the north and was forced to call Parliament. The Puritan party saw their chance to assert the liberties of England. Thus Scottish Presbyterians and the Puritans (i.e., Episcopalian and Presbyterian Church of Englanders and the few Congregationalists) worked together, and in the first two years of the Long Parliament laid down principles of government which

survived Cromwell's despotic reign and the reaction of the Restoration, and which now form the solid foundation of English liberties. For this great achievement Presbyterians and Congregationalists strove side by side.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines.

It was the misfortune of the first, the great Revolution, that it had to do with a king whose profound belief in his Divine Right prevented him from sincerely accepting any compromise. It was a still greater misfortune that when that became evident there was no other member of the Royal Family available who would accept the throne, as William and Mary did at the next Revolution, subject to the limitations of a Constitution. Had that been possible we should have had in England, at that early date, the sovereign ruling by the advice of his people, and as its corollary the bishop, a limited monarch in the Church, ruling by the advice of his presbytery. In fact, in very desperation, at Newport, 1648, Charles I. himself made the proposal, bishops "to have counsel and assistance of presbyters in ordination and jurisdiction." Failing a substitute for the king, Parliament blundered along into civil war. In order to face the king it allied itself with the Presbyterians of Scotland by entering into the Solemn League (civil) and Covenant (religious), 1643, to defend the liberty and peace of the realm and to reform the English Church "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed

Churches," and, finally, to extirpate Popery and Prelacy. Parliament appointed a committee of Church of England divines, the so-called Westminster Assembly,* which in conjunction with Scottish Commissioners drew up the *Directory of Public Worship*, the *Confession of Faith*, and the *Longer and Shorter Catechisms*. These invaluable documents were acceptable to the whole mass of Puritan opinion, save that the Baptists held to their view on baptism. They are honoured in English Congregationalism to this day. The Shorter Catechism, in particular, was used for generations very generally in England, and John Wesley himself published a revised edition of it with his own annotations for the use of the Methodists. It only shows how much all shades of Puritan England, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, were at one in their system of thought.

Congregationalists Struggle Against the Divine Right of Presbyterianism.

It was on the question of Church government that disagreements arose. *The Form of Presbyterian Church Government and Ordination of Ministers* sent by the Assembly to Parliament contemplated but one form of government, the Presbyterian, as being in conformity with God's Word, and therefore having Divine Right. This was to be accepted by Parliament, established as the national Church in

* It was a Parliamentary Committee.

England, and enforced by laws and, of course, penalties. The Independents (Congregationalists) in the Assembly pleaded the Divine origin of what we call Congregationalism. The official Presbyterian answer to them ran:

"Our Brethren may well know that those of the Reformed Churches who practise a Presbyterian Government pleaded a *Jus Divinum* for their Government long before this way of our brethren was thought upon."—Answer of the Assembly of Divines, by authority of Parliament now sitting at Westminster unto the *Reasons* given in this Assembly by the Dissenting Brethren.

If Presbyterianism had a Divine Right it could tolerate none other beside it, any more than Episcopacy, *juro divino*.* Accordingly, the House of Commons, after consulting the Assembly, resolved, "that no person be permitted to preach who is not ordained as a Minister," and a sort of presbytery was set up in London which could alone ordain.

Against the Divine Right of Presbyterianism, the Independents put forward the *jus divinum* of Congregationalism founded on Scripture. As it applied compulsion only *within the "gathered church,"* that is, the small group of people who should voluntarily band themselves together by covenant with God in a congregation, and as it renounced all coercion by State or Church outside of that, the logical issue of

* How far the Assembly was from the modern point of view may be judged by the fact that they procured an Act of Parliament (1648) inflicting the punishment of death on any who should deny the doctrine of the Trinity.

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 145

Congregationalism was freedom for the Christian individual to join the Christian society which appealed to him, and toleration for the whole Christian State, where Anglicanism and Presbyterianism went no farther than freedom for the nation to govern itself by a majority in religious matters. In this sense the Independents began to plead with the Presbyterians for toleration, carrying their appeal to Scripture. One Leonard Busher, a Baptist who had published a plea for toleration addressed to James I. as early as 1614, now republished it under the significant title: "*Religion's Peace: a Plea for Liberty of Conscience*," addressing the Presbyterians directly in its preface:

" . . . The second thing (the writer's) discourse drives at, is to make it appear by Scripture and sound argument that the only way to make a nation happy and preserve the people in love, peace and tranquillity, is to give liberty to all to serve God according as they are persuaded is most agreeable to His Word ; to speak, write, print, peaceably and without molestation, on behalf of their several tenets and ways of worship, wholesome and pertinent laws being made, upon penalties, to restrain all kinds of vice or violence, all kinds of reproach, slander or injury either by deed or word.

"And though this advice likewise seems not the best to some, especially to you, my brethren in the Presbyterian way, yet am I well assured that this nation will never be happy . . . till liberty of conscience be allowed.

"I hope, upon perusal thereof, you that are my brethren of the Presbyterian way will abate much of your misguided eagerness in persecuting your conscientious brethren."

Oliver Cromwell Advocates Liberty for Tender Consciences.

A practical step was taken in this direction by Oliver Cromwell, the greatest of Independents, who proposed a motion to the Commons calling on the Westminster Assembly to find some way

"how far tender consciences . . . may be borne with according to the Word and as may stand with the public peace."

The motion shocked the Presbyterian divines. That ardent Presbyterian, the Scottish Commissioner Baillie, wrote:

"The great shot of Cromwell is to have a liberty for all religions without any exceptions . . . God help us!"

John Milton for the Freedom of the Press.

Not only did the Presbyterian Party attempt to prevent the so-called sectaries from preaching, but they tried to shut them out from the press. Their demands were supported by the Stationer's Company and steps were being taken to revive the strict censure of books and pamphlets which had fallen into abeyance in the first years of the Revolution. John Milton had published his views on divorce without a license and proceedings were to be taken against him. Up to these critical years he had held for Presbyterian forms of government and in that sense written his pamphlet, *The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelacy*, but he now became

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 147

an Independent and published his immortal plea in defence of the liberty of the individual in general and of the press in particular, in a pamphlet entitled *Areopagitica*:

"Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to re-assume the ill-deputed case of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another and some grain of charity might in all those diligences to join and unite in one general and brotherly search after truth, could we but forego this prelatic tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men."

Such was John Milton's plea—a plea made in vain.

These episodes are sad reading to the loyal Presbyterian, but like a bitter tonic ought not to be without their profit to him. He sees that form of government which he regards as well nigh perfect being offered to Puritan England as the solution of all its ecclesiastical troubles. At one stage the whole Puritan party seems ready to adopt it. Soon it begins to appear to the liberty-loving Englishmen of those days that Presbyterianism could not cure their ills. A body of men pleading liberty and toleration arises and makes its plea with the lips of Oliver Cromwell in the political sphere and the pen of John Milton in the literary world. These men were the choice and master spirits of that age, but they did not stand

alone. When the Presbyterian party refused their demands the whole Puritan movement broke asunder. All Cromwell's army and much of England became Independent, and Presbyterianism lost its supreme opportunity of becoming, if it might be only for the time, the national religion of England.

The Limitations of Presbyterianism.

One asks impatiently, What was the matter? Wherein did or does Presbyterianism fall short? First of all, Presbyterians in those days believed, as each party then did, in the Divine Right of its teaching and practice, and consequently it could tolerate none other. Fortunately the critical and historical study of Scripture and the forms of the Church, but above all a deeper insight into the differences between experimental religion and the intellectual theories and practical organization by which we express it in the worlds of thought and action, have softened our views of religious forms other than our own and enabled us to see that diverse Communion may be Christian Churches, their variations in thought and government being largely due to the circumstances of their origin or the conditions under which they have existed.

Moreover, it appears certain that the Scottish and English Presbyterians were acting on the assumption that public opinion was as homogeneous in England as it was in Scotland. In the long run forms of government must be based on public opinion. Where the nation was heartily Presbyterian it was

quite possible to leave the Church without safeguards in the hands of the majority. Where public sentiment was divided, as in England, provision had to be made for the differences which existed, that is to say, for tender consciences. That is just what was not done. It became perfectly evident that Presbyterianism established by law would be driven to take action against those who refused to accept it, against the supporters of Prelacy on the one side, and the so-called sectaries on the other, and that all that the Revolution would have accomplished would have been to substitute the Presbyter by Divine Right for the Bishop *juro divino*.

Within General Uniformity, Liberty.

One turns eagerly to ask what remedies men of piercing intellect like Cromwell and Milton had to suggest. Cromwell was for some plan by which "tender consciences might be borne with." Within the territorial Presbyterian Church of England parishes which agreed to differ would, no doubt, be allowed to do so, and men who had scruples of conscience as to forms of government or of ritual would be allowed to make a "gathered church" and be entitled to the support of their preacher. Within the general uniformity there should be liberty. Milton's scheme was to protect the individual and the group of individuals by a free press, by open and general discussion of the issues at stake. The small body which differed should never be silenced.

These were no mere expedients. They were based on the profound conviction that every man had the right to make his contribution to his country and his Church and that only so could there be peace and progress and real advance in the knowledge of the truth. An unknown writer at the time thus nobly enunciated the principle in a pamphlet with the suggestive title: *Liberty of Conscience, or the Sole Means to Obtain Peace and Truth.*

"It is true that if liberty be given for men to teach what they will, there will appear more false teachers than ever; yet it were better that many false doctrines were published, especially with a good intention and out of weakness only, than that one sound truth should be forcibly smothered or wilfully concealed, and by the incongruities and absurdities which accompany erroneous and unsound doctrines the truth appears still more glorious and wins others to the love thereof."

The situation in our Church to-day shows remarkable resemblance to the times with which we have been dealing. It is true that our antagonisms are not nearly so sharp and no one nowadays believes in Divine Right of Presbyterianism. None the less the Union negotiations have broken up to some extent the homogeneous spirit which has hitherto prevailed among us. Sharp antagonisms have manifested themselves and will continue to make themselves seen if we ever get a Union Church. The only wise course seems to be to make ample allowances for them, both now and in the future. There seems no safer policy than to base the Church upon the actual public opinion. If the Churches declare for some-

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 151

thing more than Federation—then closer Union let it be. But inasmuch as there will be within the general uniformity bodies of diverse sentiments and different vested rights, it appears simple wisdom that these be accorded their just liberties, and especially that they be granted every means by discussion in committees, in the courts and the press to voice their views, and to bend or at least to moderate in their own direction the general policy of the Church. If the argument of the last two of our series of studies be at all justified we should have within a generation once more a homogeneous public opinion, and one all the richer for being the sum of the contribution of all parties to the great Church which is to be.

The Religious Organization of the Protectorate.

It is simple history that when it became apparent that Parliament intended to establish Presbyterianism by Divine Right as the religion of England, Englishmen refused to accept it. Independents seemed to spring out of the ground. A large body in Parliament and the whole of Cromwell's army almost, went over to Independency. Rather than tolerate any other worship, the Scottish Presbyterians, who after all were fond of their Stuart kings, persuaded Charles to promise to keep Presbyterianism the religion of the land for at least three years. On these terms the Scottish host, ministers and all, marched southward under Hamilton. It was crushed by Cromwell and his Ironsides at Preston

(1648). The King's head was taken and the Protectorate established.

The religious organization then brought into force was based on the Independent idea of toleration. It was less an established church than a series of religious establishments. Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist ministers received state support, and when the parishes wanted it, Episcopalians also. Of course when the secular Puritan Revolution failed the religious Puritan movement failed with it, though the unseen influences of both are a permanent heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race.

After the Restoration.

After the Restoration, thanks to the more sober judgments which characterized all denominations, and also to the advance of critical and historical methods of studying Scripture, the claim of Divine Right for their form of government was gradually abandoned by the two bodies, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, at least in England. They had, of course, always agreed on theological questions. After the Toleration Act (1689), which permitted congregations but made great denominational bodies impossible, had forced the English Presbyterians to Congregationalism in practice, a Union was negotiated on the basis of *Heads of Agreement assented to by United Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational*, but the two bodies afterwards drifted apart. New methods of studying the Bible brought for the

CONGREGATIONALIST CHURCHES 153

eighteenth century a new crop of grave theological problems. The Congregationalists were less touched by it, took the older views, and remained Evangelical. The English Presbyterians ran down towards Unitarianism. The two bodies parted. Later English Presbyterianism is of Scottish descent, but it is now, along with Congregationalism, within the general Federation of the Free Churches.

Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in Canada.

Much water has flowed under London Bridge since the agreements and disagreements which we have described and, above all, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists whom we have in view are in a new land. Here, of necessity, the Presbyterians and even the Anglicans have had to abandon the territorial basis on which the Reformation National Churches were founded. We stand now where the Congregationalists did at the beginning; we hold the Church to be a voluntary union of believers and their children. The very geographical difficulties of the land have weakened the hold of the church-courts on the individual congregation, so that it is now remarkably free. So far Presbyterianism has travelled toward Congregationalism without at all losing its strength based on unity or its belief that the whole body of believers constitutes the Church. On the other hand, Congregationalism, without abandoning the liberty of the individual congregation or ceasing to believe that such constitutes the Church, has found it necessary in every land to strengthen the tie

between congregation and congregation, and to meet the enormous demands of modern society by gathering the units into Unions. While both Churches find the principles on which their government is based in the New Testament, neither any longer claims Divine Right for its own. It does look as if, at least in Canada, the two bodies could forget all old quarrels and come together in a comprehensive but free Union without doing violence to their consciences, rather doing justice to their common desire to live and labour in unity and freedom to make the people of this Dominion of ours in very truth a united and a free Christian people.

IV. THE RISE OF METHODISM.

The Methodist Church, or rather Churches, arose through the evangelical labours of a body of spiritually minded men finding no permanent place within the rigid system of the Church of England. Unable to adapt the existing forms to the demands of the time, they created their own organization, or more strictly organizations, within the English Church, and then drifted out of her or were driven out into independence.

The Religious Factor—A Band of Awakened Men.

Charles Wesley, a young man of fine spirit who went up to the University of Oxford in the year 1729, gathered around him a little group of High

Churchmen who believed in Apostolic Succession, took the Sacrament once a week, gave themselves to much prayer and fasting, and also visited gaols and hospitals to speak to the unfortunate and to preach to them. For their methodical study and religious life they were nick-named "Methodists." However, many forces were at work in those times depreciating the value of outward forms and laying increased emphasis on the religion of the heart. A more common-sense critical and historical interpretation of Scripture on the one side, and mystical communion with God on the other, were alike showing that the supreme thing in Christianity is a life—the heart-life that is by trusting in the mercies of the Redeemer.

The Discovery of a New Gospel.

One of the group, George Whitefield, the greatest preacher England has ever produced, was converted from his externalism, Presbyterians and Scotsmen will note with interest, by a little book entitled, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, by a Scotsman, Henry Scougal, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen in the Kirk of Scotland. Let Whitefield tell the story himself.

"I must bear testimony to my old friend, Charles Wesley. He put a book into my hands, called 'The Life of God in the Soul of Man,' whereby God showed me that I must be born again or be damned. I know the place; it may be, perhaps, superstitious, but whenever I go to Oxford I cannot help running to the spot where Jesus Christ

first revealed Himself to me and gave me new birth. I learned that a man may go to church, say his prayers, receive the Sacrament, and yet not be a Christian. How did my heart rise and shudder like a poor man that is afraid to look into his ledger lest he should find himself bankrupt. 'Shall I burn this book? Shall I throw it down? Or shall I search it?' I did search it; and holding the book in my hand, thus addressed the God of heaven and earth: 'Lord, if I am a Christian for Jesus' sake show me what Christianity is, that I may not be damned at the last.' I read a little further and discovered that they who know anything about religion know it is a vital union with the Son of God—Christ formed in the heart. . . . From that moment God has been carrying on His blessed work in my soul. I am now fifty-five years of age and shall leave you in a few days, but I tell you, my brethren, I am more and more convinced that this is the truth of God, and that without it you can never be saved by Jesus Christ."

The theological presuppositions are thoroughly orthodox, but in the presence of a great heart-experience they fall into the background of Whitefield's religious consciousness, and he goes out to the world to preach not a theology but a divine life of God in the soul of man.

Though John Wesley knew this and other of Scottish Henry Scougal's works and subsequently published some in his Christian Library of Practical Divinity (50 vols.), his own religious experience came through a band of German Moravians. (That is the beauty of a heart-religion as contrasted with a theological or church-government religion; it unites people where the others divide.) On Wednesday, May 24, 1738, at a meeting of a Society at Alders-

gate Street, London, "where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans"—

"At a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. . . . I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

Thus John Wesley also went out to preach an inward life rather than an outward theology.

The Secular and Ecclesiastical Situation.

The industrial movement which has transformed England was well under way. It has been estimated that the population of the country increased by 50 per cent. in the last half of the eighteenth century. Great masses of men began to gather around what have since become the hives of industry and commerce—in London, about Bristol, especially at the Kingswood mines, at Newcastle, Liverpool and Manchester. The people were flocking from the country-sides to these centres of industry. The times were ignorant and brutal enough, but in the country districts the forces of law and order and of religion—the State and the Church, the squire and the parson—surrounded and hedged in the lower orders. Among the masses in their new homes in the cities these influences were thrown off and no new controlling forces took their place. The rich

and often profligate upper classes and the poor and brutalized lower orders now gathering in great masses of population stood sharply over against one another. The situation was one in which revolutions are born. The House of Commons remained unreformed in the face of the new industrial England. The State failed to adapt itself to the new conditions; most of the new cities, centres of industry, were unenfranchised and most of the citizens of the land had no vote. Redress of abuses seemed impossible and that meant sooner or later revolution.

The Unalterable Church.

The situation within the Church was not unlike that within the body politic. We have already seen that the defective governmental system of the Church of England did not permit her easily to change or to readjust herself to new circumstances. Things were even worse now. Her clergy had supported the Stuarts and could scarcely be described as loyal to the Hanoverians. For the sake of peace Walpole suppressed their assembling for her government in Convocation (1717), and so robbed the Church of her slender means of fashioning out adaptations to the changing times. The bishops appointed were often learned men, but the "heelers" of the political parties. As supporters of the House of Hanover they were out of touch with the clergy, and so could not play a firm part as leaders and rulers. Bishop Hoadly, it is known, never once visited his diocese. The Church drifted on helplessly. She was a terri-

torial institution, divided into a network of parishes and dioceses with tithes, lands and endowments. The boundaries of the humblest parish could not be changed without an Act of Parliament, and for one clergyman to pass from his own parish to another to visit dying, and still more to save living, souls, was a reprehensible act of unfriendliness to his fellow-clergyman. The rector or vicar, though "passing rich on forty pounds a year," was supreme in his parish as any potentate, preached a moralism with insufferable dulness, and left those who did not come to church to their own untutored and brutalized selves. Yet he was jealous of every attempt to reach them which might end in dividing his parish or diminishing his income. The result was that in towns of considerable size there would be but one church, and the great masses of the unchurched created an atmosphere of godlessness in the land. Bishop Butler wrote sadly, "The deplorable distinction of our age is an avowed scorn of religion and a growing disregard of it." A deadened Church, then, and a new industrial England, with large unchurched masses, were the outward circumstances which moulded the Methodist movement.*

* We must not press this too far, for in many a parish, *e.g.*, Epworth, in whose rectory the Wesleys were born, spiritually minded men were doing their duty, and in some parts, *e.g.*, fashionable London, churches were being freely built.

Exclusion from the Churches.

The first thing which the enthusiastic preachers of a new birth experienced as they preached in the churches was that the clergymen were afraid of them as too enthusiastic and closed their pulpits to them. Sunday, May 28th, 1738, the first Sabbath after his experience described above, John Wesley's Journal runs:

"This day I preached in the morning at St. George's, Bloomsbury (London), on, 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith,' and in the afternoon at the chapel at Long Acre, on God's justifying the ungodly—the last time (I understand) I am to preach at either—'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.'"

Whitefield, though an ordained clergyman, was challenged for preaching in Bristol without a license from the bishop of the diocese. The words of the Chancellor of the diocese were:

"I am resolved, sir, if you preach or expound anywhere in this diocese, I will first suspend and then excommunicate you."

Field-preaching.

Often when Whitefield or Wesley would preach, the churchyard would be crowded with people who could not get into the church. When they saw these multitudes scattered as sheep without a shepherd they were moved with compassion. No chancellor's interdict could suppress that emotion. If they could not have the churches they would have the fields of

God. Feb. 17th, 1739, Whitefield preached for the first time in the open to the miners of Kingswood, near Bristol. His first audience numbered 200, his second 3,000, his third 5,000, and soon 20,000 would gather to hear him. Six weeks later John Wesley ventured on an open-air service, and within three months Charles Wesley had also broken into the new path. Against all their earliest instincts, point by point, the Methodists were led out, or were driven out, to a world mission, the two impelling factors being, on the one side the inward religious impulse in the men themselves, and on the other the religious demands of the times.

"All my life, till very lately," wrote John Wesley, "I have been so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church." But now he could say, "I look upon all the world as my parish; thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare, unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to do, and sure I am that His blessing attends it."

Methodist Societies.

The preaching of God's condemnation of the sinner on the one hand and His gracious promise of salvation on the other, plunged hundreds and thousands into the experience through which the first Methodists had themselves come. In extreme cases in the hour of agony or self-condemnation men and women screamed, and would perhaps lie on the floor in

spasms. In the hour of acceptance and reception of forgiveness one and all shouted for joy, which, by the way, happens to be a perfectly scriptural line of conduct. Into many a home of wealth and luxury, but particularly in the miner's grimy cottage, or the workman's hovel, there descended a calm sense of God's love, and with it a keen conception of human duty and especially of social oneness in Christ. Thus around the Word preached there grew up little groups of Christians who shared in common blessings and undertook the common duty of strengthening one another in the faith, and of taking the glad tidings out to others. These groups were the first Methodist societies. They were within the Church of England much as the Christian Endeavor Society is within our Church to-day, only they usually met in some home, or hall, and soon began building "meeting-houses" of their own. The members took communion in the parish church, or had some friendly Anglican clergyman come to dispense the sacrament for them in their humble home of worship.

Methodist Institutions.

John Wesley it was who fashioned out for the societies, gradually as the need arose, their forms of government. He did not, as Calvin, consciously fashion a Church after New Testament ideals. He simply followed the demands of the growth of the societies, but inasmuch as there was a certain resemblance between his work and say that of Paul,

who, over the Roman Empire, founded Christian societies at first within and then without the Jewish synagogues, the grand outlines followed the New Testament and present certain agreements with Presbyterianism. The thing that kept the societies one was the apostolic influence of John Wesley himself. When there came to be meeting-houses, *stewards* were appointed to supervise them. The life of the societies was, of course, preaching, but w^h would preach? Once in the absence of Wesley one of his helpers undertook to preach of his own accord. All the original High Church instincts in John Wesley rebelled, but when he arrived upon the scene and saw the fruits of the preaching, he said: "It is the Lord, let Him do as seemeth Him good."

Thus arose the Methodist preachers. Wesley drew out careful rules for their lives, and did much writing and publishing and re-printing for their education. Out of this there has developed the Methodist *ministry* on the one side, and the more informal *lay preachers* on the other. The vast extent of the work and the scarcity of the preachers, combined with the slenderness of their attainments, were, I suppose, the main reasons for keeping them itinerating, but the issue was a manner of service, a ministration, which held all the societies together by a tie strikingly like that which bound the New Testament churches into a unity. At the same time, as we have seen, this system recalls the superintendents and local preachers of the early days of the Kirk of Scotland. Wesley, as it were, stumbled on the *class-meeting* and *class-*

leader. There was a debt to be cleared off at the Bristol meeting-house, and certain members of the society agreed each to call on eleven of the neighbors weekly to get a penny from each of them. By a stroke of genius, Wesley developed this into a piece of religious machinery for watching, disciplining and encouraging the members of the individual society. The more experienced, comparable to the elders of the early Church, became the leaders, and soon were gathered into a board for discipline—the *leader's meeting*. When the society came to have a pastor of its own, something not unlike our session resulted. From as early as 1744, Wesley had begun to *invite* a few clergymen and perhaps a few laymen to meet with him once a year to issue regulations to his societies. This was the beginning of the Conference, which was thus at the first an informal body of men invited to advise Wesley.

No Methodist Theological Standards.

The Methodists *created no theological creed*. They did not differ from the Thirty-nine Articles. There was no need to do so, but above all religion was not opinion, they felt, but a conversion and a life. Wesley once proclaimed the fact that Methodists believed that "right opinion is a slender part of religion or no part at all."

Thus the first Methodists were at the early Christian and the early Reformation point of view, and the modern also, but they did not use the phrase as a

sceptic might to brush aside the teachings of the Church, rather as champions of the religion of the heart against those who press right views upon others as though they constituted Christianity. John Wesley believed in Free Will, and consequently in God's Free-Grace for all. While Whitefield preached just as widely to all, he believed that God gave His grace only to His chosen. In a word, he believed in predestination and election. For a while the two great preachers worked together with this important difference between them. The divergence of view led to no more than a discussion, till the followers, less self-restrained than the great preachers themselves, forced the situation. Calvinists at Kingswood agitated with many personalities against John Wesley, and he read them out of the society, not for their belief, but for their indiscipline.

"It is our holding election which is the true cause of your separating from us." "You know in your own conscience it is not," replied Wesley. "There are several Predestinarians in our societies, both in London and Bristol, nor did I ever yet put one out of either because he held that opinion."

In fact, Wesley held the thoroughly modern view that he should seek the truth out with God's Word in his hand and the Holy Spirit leading him, but that he should not rule another manifest child of God out of the Church or the ministry simply because he thought differently, for the essence of Christianity does not lie in opinions, but in the life of God in the soul of man. He wrote to Whitefield:

"The case is quite plain. There are bigots both for predestination and against it. God is sending a message to those on either side, but neither will receive it, unless from one who is of their own opinion. Therefore, for a time you are suffered to be of one opinion and I of another. But when His time is come, God will do what men cannot,—namely, make us both of one mind."

Whitefield had previously written to him:

"I have lately read the Life of Luther, and think it no wise to his honor that the last part of his life was so much taken up in disputing with Zwinglians and others, who, in all probability, equally loved the Lord Jesus, notwithstanding they might differ from him in other points. Let this, dear sir, be a caution to us; I hope it will be to me; for by the blessing of God, provoke me to it as much as you please, I do not think ever to enter the lists of controversy with you on the points wherein we differ. Only I pray God that the more you judge me the more I may love you and learn to desire no one's approbation but that of my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ."

This ideal is thoroughly modern, but it takes a vast deal of self-restraint to make it good in action, more, perhaps, than could be expected in those times, and the two great preachers drifted apart (1741). The Calvinism of America gave Whitefield a great sphere of activity there. In England Calvinistic Lady Huntingdon assumed what she supposed to be a noble's rights, retained many chaplains and built many chapels for them, including Whitefield's Tabernacle in London, and in these Whitefield found his sphere as a wandering apostle. So successful was Lady Huntingdon in calling the attention of the aristocracy of the State and Church to the Methodist

movement that bishops went incognito to her chapel at Bath to hear her preachers, and were smuggled into certain curtained seats, which came to be known as "Nicodemus's corner"!

The Separation from the Church of England.

The first group of Methodists to break away, or rather be driven away, from the English Church, was what is known as "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion." The zealous Countess intruded into a parish in the North of London, by buying the "Pantheon," and placing a chaplain in it. The clergyman of the parish went to law, and it was the verdict that the chapel was an illegal intrusion. As a consequence all Lady Huntingdon's chapels, to get a legal standing, had to be declared worshipping places of Dissenters. Their clergy began to ordain to the ministry, and this made the breach with Anglicanism final.

The separation of the Wesleyan societies was equally inevitable, if less violent. Their great growth, and the fervid atmosphere in them, as well as their doctrine of Perfectionism which some carried to great length, frightened even Wesley's friends among the Anglican clergy. It became very difficult to get clergymen to dispense the sacrament in any Wesleyan building, and well-nigh impossible in America. In 1784 Wesley, acting on the theory which is usual among Anglican scholars of the so-called "Broad Church," that in the New Testament Bishop and

Presbyter are but different names for the same officer, ordained certain men to be pastors in America, and in following years did the same for Scotland, Ireland and England. The choice local preachers thus attained to the rank of ministers. As it is the law of England that none can be a clergyman in the State Church save those ordained by the bishops, and as the High Churchmen regard only ordinations by bishops in Apostolic Succession as valid, that action of Wesley put his societies out of the Church. Also in 1784 a legal document transformed the annual Conference into a corporate body, "The Legal Hundred," capable of holding the property and administering the societies as Wesley had hitherto done. As it was ultimately transformed to include all the ministers and lay-representatives with them, it has taken a form not unlike that of the General Assembly in the Presbyterian Church.

The Fruits of Methodism.

(1) Methodism has preached a Gospel which has saved millions of souls from the Slough of Despond, and has given calm, courageous and conquering wills to them. Let Lecky, the rationalist historian, speak:

"The doctrine of justification by faith, which diverts the wandering mind from all painful and perplexing retrospect, concentrates the imagination on one Sacred Figure, and persuades the sinner that the sins of a life have, in a moment, been effaced, has enabled thousands to encounter death with perfect calm, or even with vivid joy,

and has consoled innumerable mourners at a time when all the commonplaces of philosophy would appear the idlest sounds."

(2) We should surely add the great mass of Christian men, and the enormous fund of good citizenship with which Methodism has endowed the Anglo-Saxon people. This was of vast import in the way of tiding England over the wild period of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Lecky says that:

"The preaching of the Wesleys was of greater historic importance than all the splendid victories by land and sea won under Pitt."

Another wise observer says:

"England escaped a political revolution because she had undergone a spiritual revolution."

and Lecky makes this final pronouncement:

"Many causes conspired to save England from the contagion of the revolutionary spirit in France, but among them a prominent place must be given to Methodism."

(3) There must also be added to the credit of Methodism the Evangelical Revival which it aroused both in the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. This was not simply a blessing to the people and the Churches affected, but it led to new ways of serving Christ, as for example, Sunday Schools, Ragged Schools, Missions in the lower parts of the cities, and Missions to the heathen. Add new directions given to political reform, for example, the reform of the gaols, and of the criminal code, the suppression of the Slave Trade and the Emancipa-

tion of the Slaves, for which Evangelicals of all classes labored. Moreover, Evangelicalism endowed our race with a long succession of great religious institutions, the London Missionary Society (undenominational), the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society (undenominational), the Religious Tract Society (undenominational), and I suppose we may add the Evangelical Alliance and the Young Men's Christian Association.

These are all recognized in history as being of one extensive movement. It is as though when Wesley preached his first open-air sermon on the text:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me.

Because he hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor.

He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,

And recovering of sight to the blind,

To set at liberty them that are bruised,

To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

he began a long baptism of the Anglo-Saxon race in its Churches and its States with that Spirit. This achievement alone entitles Methodism to take its equal place alongside of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, which have laid deep the foundations of British liberty and endowed our stock with the saving health which is by the Puritan's conscience and his swift rebellion against tyranny and wrong. Manifestly the three bodies have played equally an honorable part in making and saving our free constitution and in enlarging the bounds and enriching the life of the Church of Christ.

V. THE FIRST METHODISTS AND PRESBYTERIAN SCOTLAND.

The proposal to unite the Presbyterians and Methodists in Canada gives a new interest and importance to the many visits of George Whitefield and John Wesley to Scotland.

Scotland's Gift to Early Methodism.

We have already seen that a little book of a pious Scotsman was cherished by Charles Wesley, and when given to George Whitefield, brought him to those views of religion which constituted his Gospel. John Wesley also knew the works of this Henry Scougal, and published an abridged edition of "The Life of God in the Soul of Man" (1744), while on one occasion, when he wished to give a short definition of religion, he gave it, apparently all unconsciously, in the very words of the title of Scougal's excellent treatise.

A second contribution of Scotland is not so clear nor so important, viz., Whitefield's Calvinism. It appears that the great preacher first began to be pronouncedly Calvinistic after reading the sermons of the two Erskines, the choice spirits of the Secession Church. However, it is only fair to say, that contemporaries attributed these views to the celebrated New England Congregationalist divine, Jonathan Edwards, with whom Whitefield had to do in America.

These indebtednesses the Methodists were to repay amply to Scotland by their many visits and their much preaching.

Whitefield and the Seceders.

The Church of the Secession in Scotland was small and in need of all the support it could win. The Erskines, who were evangelical in spirit and had already awakened something of a revival by their preaching, which was often done in the fields, turned their eyes to George Whitefield, whose field preaching was awakening England to such an extent. A preliminary correspondence seemed to show that they might work together successfully, and Whitefield was invited to Scotland. Now Whitefield was a Calvinist and agreed with the Erskines in all features of doctrine, but the worthy Scotsmen were still at the point of view of the Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly. They believed in the Divine Right of their form of government and their belief. Consequently they looked on all the rest of mankind as lapsed from primitive truth and scarcely to be recognized. This put a great gulf between them and Whitefield, who, without being untrue to himself, allowed others their own beliefs and forms of government. Let Whitefield tell of their meeting at Presbytery in Dunfermline.

"I met with them according to appointment on Wednesday last. A set of grave, venerable men! They soon proposed to form themselves into a presbytery, and were

proceeding to choose a Moderator. I asked them for what purpose? They answered to discourse, and set me right about the matter of church government, and the Solemn League and Covenant. I replied that they might save themselves that trouble, for I had no scruples about it, and that settling church government and preaching about the Solemn League and Covenant was not my plan. . . . One much warmer than the rest immediately replied, 'that no indulgence was to be shown to me; that England had revolted most with respect to church government; and that I, born and educated there, could not but be acquainted with the matter now in debate.' I told him that I had never yet made the Solemn League and Covenant the object of my study, being busy about matters, as I judged, of greater importance. Several replied that every pin of the tabernacle was precious. . . . I then asked them seriously what they would have me do? The answer was, that I was not desired to subscribe immediately to the Solemn League and Covenant, but to preach only for them till I had further light. I asked why only for them? Mr Ralph Erskine said, 'They were the Lord's people.' I then asked whether there were no other Lord's people but themselves? And supposing all others were devil's people they certainly had more need to be preached to, and, therefore, I was more and more determined to go out into the highways and hedges, and that if the Pope himself would lend me his pulpit I would gladly proclaim the righteousness of Christ therein. . . . The consequence of all this was an open breach. I retired; I wept; I prayed; and after preaching in the fields, sat down and dined with them, and then took a final leave."

This instructing little episode lays bare before the eye the disaster of holding to any elaborate form of church government or of theology by Divine Right. It can tolerate none other beside it; it restricts the

evangelic message to its own channels, and ends by sacrificing men, the preachers on the one side and the ungathered hearers on the other, to the institutions to which they have ascribed an authority as great as Holy Writ itself. Moreover, we can gauge by this incident the progress made by the mind of England in the century after the Westminster Assembly. Whitefield's beliefs were essentially the same as those of the Erskines, but to him religion was not right instruction so much as a true life in Jesus Christ, and nothing could be allowed to come in between him and his duty to proclaim to one and to all that life which God grants to those who trust in the redeeming mercies of the cross.

Whitefield and the Kirk of Scotland.

The Kirk believed in the Westminster Confession of Faith just as much as the Seceders, but a spirit was abroad within her, well-indicated by its name, "Moderatism." At its best it laid more stress on heart religion than on outward forms, and at its worst it reduced religion to a mere correct living. It probably was due to a more spiritual and common-sense and a less theological use of the Bible on the one side and on the other, to a certain tiredness at the janglings of the mere theologians. At any rate the Kirk understood and appreciated the point of view of Whitefield and even of Wesley, and the former in particular was received with open arms. *The Scots Magazine* said of him:

"This gentleman recommends the essentials of religion, and decries the distinguishing punctilios of parties; mentions often the circumstance of his own regeneration and what success he has had in his ministerial labors."

Whitefield carried out, in all, fourteen preaching tours in Scotland, and his reception was almost on a national scale. The six chief cities gave him the freedom of the burgh. At Irvine he once preached "at the desire of the magistrates." It is true that the Synod of Perth forbade its ministers to employ him, but elsewhere the motions to that effect were amended to permit ministers with confidence in him to invite him to their pulpits, and the people flocked to the principal churches of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, etc., to hear him, as well as to the open spaces in which he preached. The managers of Heriot's Hospital made an open-air auditorium in their grounds and charged an admission fee from his audiences. The Earl of Leven and Melville, His Majesty's Commissioner to the General Assembly, entertained him at Leven House, and the great preacher was much pleased with General Assembly itself.

"Being the time of General Assembly (at which I was much pleased) many ministers attended (my meetings) perhaps a hundred at a time. Thereby prejudices were removed and many of their hearts were deeply impressed. About thirty of them, as a token of respect, invited me to a public entertainment. The Lord High Commissioner also invited me to his table, and many persons of credit and religion did the same in a public manner. Thousands and thousands, among whom were a great many of the best

rank, daily attended on the Word preached; and the longer I stayed the more the congregations and divine influence increased."—9th visit, 1757.

Whitefield's Influence.

The results of Whitefield's work in Scotland are to be looked for in the Kirk of Scotland herself, for he founded no societies, but deliberately worked within the existing organization. He aroused the people and the clergy to an inward religious life. In particular he led the clergy to lift up their eyes to the fields white unto the harvest and to preach theology less and the Word of Life more. A minister of Edinburgh wrote to him after his first visit (1741):

"Since you left Scotland numbers in different places have been awakened. Religion in this sinful city revives and flourishes. . . . People hear the Word with gladness, and receive it in faith and love. New meetings for prayer and spiritual conference are being begun everywhere. . . ."

An Aberdeen minister says that he had revived in that city

"A just sense and concern for the great things of religion. I often think that the Lord sent him here to teach me how to preach, and especially how to suffer. His attachment to no party, but to Christ, appears to me a peculiar excellence in him."

A minister of Dundee wrote:

"I look upon this youth as raised up by God for special service, for promoting true Christianity in the world, and

for reviving it where it is decayed. . . . Though he is an ordained minister of the Church of England, he has always conformed to us both in doctrine and worship, and lies open to conform to us in other points. God, by owning him so wonderfully, is pleased to give a rebuke to our intemperate bigotry and party zeal, and to tell us that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but the new creature."

The influence of Whitefield was less in giving something new to Scotland than in quickening what lay dormant within its Kirk. Thus the revival at Cambuslang did not arise from his presence in that parish, which is on the Clyde, four and a half miles above Glasgow, but through the open-air ministrations of the minister of the place in ways which were directly suggested by Whitefield's success. For a space of six months there was awakened a "more than ordinary interest in religion," culminating in two famous communions which many thousands attended, and at which Whitefield himself was present. To the second of these communions ministers came from various parts and revivals followed, mostly in the West of Scotland, but also in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and in places as far north as Cromarty and Goldspie. Referring to this side of Whitefield's influence, Dr. MacFarlan, in his *History of the Revivals of the Eighteenth Century*, says:

"According to Mr. Whitefield's own repeated statements, in no country had he so experienced in his own soul the power of divine love, and in no other had he been as enabled to speak as of God; and the effects of his ministrations corresponded. The friends of religion in Scotland

ought never to forget how much their country was blessed by the labors of that truly great man."

It is at once to the honor of the man and the credit of the Church that it was so.

John Wesley and the Kirk of Scotland.

On the other hand, John Wesley did not find his way so smooth north of the border. He was not so unique a preacher. He did not, like Whitefield, work solely through the Presbyterian organization, but, though Whitefield thought it "a mistake," insisted on founding societies. Thus his presence in parishes appeared to be a divisive influence. Moreover, Scotland has always laid much stress on Calvinism, and Wesley believed in free-will and God's free-grace. But the great man went to the north determined not to let theological disputations arise to hinder his work, for, as we have seen, he regarded theology as a small part of religion. He thus described Methodism when on his twenty-first visit to Scotland:

"There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you, you cannot be admitted into the church or society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but they think and let think. . . . Now, I do not know any other religious society, either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed or has been allowed, since the age of the apostles."

John Wesley's Favorable Reception.

It is altogether to the honor of the Church of Scotland and the credit of John Wesley that, throughout his twenty-two visits covering the space of thirty-nine years, although many held aloof, and there was opposition to his societies, the ministers were friendly to him and churches were offered him for meetings on this side and that. His Journal often mentions the good work of the Presbyterian ministers:

"In the afternoon a young gentleman in the West Kirk (Perth) preached such a close, practical sermon on 'Enoch walked with God,' as I have not heard since I came into the kingdom."

and of the ministers' help and favor shown him:

"Mr. Dunbar (of Nairn) desired I would breakfast with him and give them a sermon in his church."

Mr. Fraser of Inverness had him to dinner and to tea, and asked

"'At what time I would please to preach?' I said, 'At half an hour past five.' The high Kirk was filled in a very short time; and I have seldom found greater liberty of spirit."

The people, too, joined in. At his first visit to Nairn they asked him for a sermon.

"Upon my consenting, the bell was immediately rung, and the congregation was quickly in the Kirk. O! what a difference is there between South and North Britain! Every one here at least loves to hear the Word of God; and none takes it into his head to speak one uncivil word to any for endeavoring to save their souls."

Two Scottish cities conferred on him the freedom of the burgh.

John Wesley's Difficulties with the Scottish Kirk.

Yet Wesley had his difficulties, and in many places travelled on a lonesome way.

"The ministers here (Dundee), particularly Mr. Small, are bitter enough, notwithstanding which the society is well established."

"I preached at Ormiston . . . to a large and deeply serious congregation. I dined at the minister's; a sensible man, who heartily bade me God-speed. But he soon changed his mind. Lord H——n informed him that he had received a letter from Lady H——, assuring him that we were dreadful heretics to whom no countenance should be given. It is a pity! Should not the children of God leave the Devil to do his own work?"

Wesley's very success in founding societies brought the Scottish Kirk up to the grave situation that sooner or later these would drift out of the Church, and the Kirk of Scotland, still practically the only Church in the land, would find its people slipping into a rival organization. At this point Dr. John Erskine, the leader of the Evangelicals and to be distinguished from the Fathers of the Secession, took the field against Wesley in a publication under the title, "*Mr. Wesley's Principles Detected.*"

"It is high time to sound an alarm to all who wish to transmit to posterity the pure faith once delivered to the saints seriously to consider what the end of these things may be. Damnable heresies, superstitious rites, and the

wildest fanaticism may gradually gain ground, and opinions and practices take place, the mention of which would shock many, it is hoped the greater part of people in this country. If men are once brought to believe that right opinion is a slender part of religion, or no part at all, there is scarcely anything so foolish or so wicked which Satan may not prompt him to, by transforming himself into an angel of light."

These terrible things never came to pass, for when Methodism hardened into a system of thought it developed an orthodoxy not so very different from the Presbyterian orthodoxy, twentieth century edition, but Dr. Erskine's assault forced the Scots to choose between the National Church for which they had suffered much and which had done much to preserve the liberties of Scotland, and Methodism imported from the South. On this point the Scotsman could have no hesitancy. The Methodist societies fell away. In Glasgow and Edinburgh only did they retain any foothold. So far from this being an argument against Union, it is thus far in its favor, that Scottish Presbyterianism gave Methodism a welcome until it appeared as leading to division. At that point steps were taken to keep the whole land in one Church.

The Influence of the First Methodists on Scottish Religion.

Though no great denomination was formed in Scotland, the influence of Whitefield and Wesley was very great upon many individuals and particularly upon the ministers, in awakening their sense of the need

of harvesting the people, and consequently in creating a new conception of what preaching should be. It was in the nature of things that this influence should be unseen and almost unrecorded. All we can say is that from that time the Evangelical party grew, until it attained to great dimensions, much as it is all that we can say of the effects of a refreshing rain-storm. "The grass grew and the flock had pasture."

A more general influence of Methodism was to soften down the harder features which Scottish religion had taken in its fierce struggle for existence during previous generations. God came to be thought of less as an exacting King, more as Father. The Bible came to be thought of less as a Book of Laws prescribing the form of Church Government and theology, more as the Word of Life. The pulpit expounded theology a little less, and proclaimed the forgiving mercies of Christ something more. So Presbyterianism kept fresh her message for the multitudes and remained for many a generation the Church of the people. All this influence is hard to measure, for it is unseen, but we have one external monument of it—our hymn-books.

Wesley Introduces Hymn-Singing.

Not only had the Bible been made in Post-Reformation times the book for the government and theology of the Church, but even for her forms of worship, so that none dared worship in song, save in the words,

or at least the thoughts, of the inspired Psalmist. John Wesley loosed the bonds of the Scottish spirit and taught it to soar heavenward on the wings of the hymns of all the saints. The first lesson was given in the College Church, Glasgow, Dr. Gillies, the pastor, leading.

"He gave out, one after another, four hymns, which about a dozen of the young men sung."

The new practice met with much opposition. Dr. Gillies wrote Wesley:

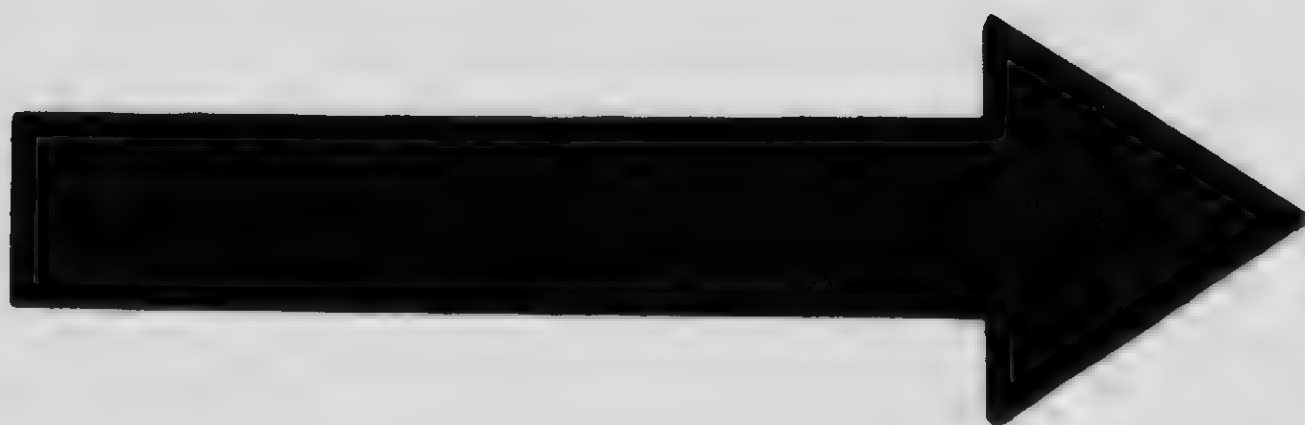
"Those of better understanding and education are silent, but many others are so prejudiced that they speak openly against it, and look on me as doing a very sinful thing."

We may, then, look on the gentle practice of singing hymns as not the least of the things that Methodism has taught us.

The Influence of the Kirk of Scotland on Methodism.

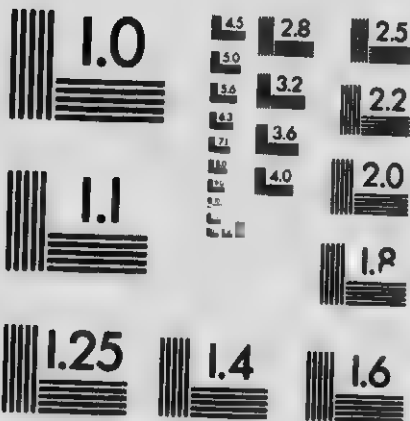
What the Scottish Kirk taught Methodism is probably also in the domain of things unseen, but may be none the less real.

Dr. Cowan, Professor of Church History (for the Kirk) in the University of Aberdeen, has worked the theme out—the influence of Wesley's maternal grandfather and great-grandfather, "notable Presbyterians"; his father educated as a Presbyterian student; himself and his immediate followers having a national Presbyterian Church before their eyes



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during "the transformation of Methodism towards the close of the eighteenth century from a society within the Church of England into an organization without it"; the initiation of the movement by lay representation in the Methodist Conference by one (Alexander Kilham) *after* he had labored for three years as a superintendent in Scotland. This argument is thoroughly borne out by two notable sayings. John Wesley himself asserted:

"As soon as I am dead, the Methodists will be a regular Presbyterian Church,"

while the Wesleyan leader, Samuel Bradburn, said as long ago as 1792:

"Our quarterly meetings answer to those Church meetings in Scotland called the Presbytery; our district meetings agree exactly with the Synod; and the Conference with the National or General Assembly." "Whatever we may choose we must call ourselves Presbyterians."

Manifestly the story from the beginning has been one of giving and receiving between Presbyterians and Methodists, and it seems a foregone conclusion that in a new country like Canada they would meet one another as the keenest of rivals, and end by asking whether in the name of the Christian religion they should not unite and become one fold under their common Shepherd.

THE FOURTH STUDY.

THE RELIGIOUS FACTORS MAKING FOR UNION.

There are two religious influences at work the wide world over tending to soften down denominationalism, to issue in a better understanding between creed and creed and even actually to accomplish closer union.

(1) *There is an intellectual piety* whose study of the Scripture and history has brought into clear view certain general lines on which Christian thought has developed. Men are beginning to see that Christian thought has been formed and transformed much as the outward institutions of the Church to meet the needs of successive ages. Modern scholars find no fixed theological or governmental *system* in the Bible* but a revelation of God's character and dealings with men, which has awakened a new life in individuals and imparted a quickening spirit to the Church in every age. The Bible is thus thought of not as a constitutional document or a book of theology, but as The Book of Life. On the other hand, the Church has had the life which she enjoys through

*There are, of course, fundamental principles.

her divine indwelling Lord cast and re-cast from age to age into visible forms of creed and government to meet the social needs and intellectual demands of her time, in the way now of defence from the foe without, now of guidance to uncertain minds within, the fold. Thus a distinction is drawn between the essential Christianity of the New Testament and the intellectual or philosophical statement of it in any particular Church or any particular age, for the toil-worn historian will tell how people's ways of thinking about their Christian life, and especially their philosophical explanations of it, vary with their knowledge and education, and even with their up-bringing. Modern intellectual piety, then, finds more or less essential Christianity in every Church and in every age, the differences, on the whole, being said to be due to the varying intellectual presuppositions and attainments of the age or the group of men. Hence the Roman ecclesiastical organization with its intellectual counterpart, the Nicene theology, is Christianity organized and explained by Græco-Romans to the Græco-Roman world. The Mediæval system of government and truth is the explanation given by the ablest minds in a dark age of such Christianity as it had. Similarly, at the Reformation, which was a national movement, as well as a religious and intellectual revival, we have national Churches and national creeds, that is, explanations of the Christianity of the day in a way that different nations would comprehend—the Augsburg Confession for the Germans, the Helvetic for the Swiss, the Scottish for Scotland,

and the Thirty-nine Articles for England. Thus the Westminster Confession was the expounding of Christianity as the Puritan world saw it with their Bibles in their hands, and the Basis of Union, as drawn up in Toronto, would be the explanation of Christian truth as the best minds of the Churches involved see it in Canada in the year of grace 1912.

The multiplication of such creeds and denominations means, of course, the multiplication of differences, and the serious mind is faced with a choice. He may identify the outward form of his denomination with essential Christianity, as the Roman Catholic or High Anglican does, ascribing to his system a Divine Right, and declaring every other system heretical or schismatic, and all other Christians no Christians; or he may take the position of modern intellectual piety—that differences between one age and another and one denomination and another are due to times, places and circumstances, but behind them all there is more or less of the essential Christian life and principles which we see in the New Testament. The total result of this last view, which is that which is taken by Protestant culture, is that the essential oneness of the Churches of the Reformation has been brought to light, and the differences between Protestant and Protestant have been thrown into the background. Thus denominational forms have been brought towards the melting point and have been so far prepared to be cast into new organizations in which great masses of Christians are united upon all essentials.

(2) *There is also a mystical piety, arriving by the processes of a heart-religion at the same distinction between essential Christianity and the local or denominational expression of it.* We have already seen fine examples of this in Whitefield and the Wesleys—particularly in Whitefield, the evangelical Calvinist, ready to go out into the highways and hedges, even into the Pope's pulpit in Rome, if only he might compel some to come in, while the Erskines, equally evangelical and Calvinistic, insisted inexorably on Scottish forms. It might be said of the perennial Evangelicalism which sprang from Methodism, and which now has permeated most of the English-speaking Protestant Churches, as the *Scots Magazine* said of Whitefield himself, that it

"Recommends the essentials of religion and decries the distinguishing punctilios of parties."

Although there have been attempts to invest Evangelical Theology with something like Divine Right, on the whole Evangelicalism has kept the stress on the life of God in the soul of man, and consequently, like modern intellectual piety, it has brought into clear light the essential unity of the Evangelical Churches, and cast denominational differences into the background.

*Unions for Specific Purposes now Very General
Among Evangelical Christians.*

The result of all this melting down of denominational forms is that *given an occasion* Evangelical

Christians tend to unite, and all sorts of interdenominational Unions for temporary or specific purposes have been and are being brought about. In 1793, to propagate Evangelical religion, ministers of several denominations founded the *Evangelical Magazine*. The group gathered about this journal had their eyes turned towards the heathen world by the writings of William Carey. They declared in its pages that

"Only by a general union of all denominations can a broad basis be laid for missions,"

and on that plan they founded, in 1795, the *London Missionary Society*.^{*} Similarly, in 1804, at a meeting in London of three hundred persons of different bodies called to consider means of spreading abroad the Scriptures, the emotion stirred by the strange sight of so many denominations met in union to promote one glorious cause was such that what is now known as "*The British and Foreign Bible Society*" was forthwith founded. Soon after, under similar conditions, "*The Book and Tract Society*" was formed. Throughout the nineteenth century one after another great interdenominational Societies were created, each with its specific object and all ending by becoming world institutions, the best known to us being as follows: The *Young Men's Christian Association* (1844), whose basis was thus declared in its first World's Conference (1855):

^{*}Later, the formation of the various denominational societies restricted its range, but though supported mainly by Congregationalists, it remains still an undenominational society.

" (It) seeks to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Sav'our, according to Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men."

The Evangelical Alliance (1846). *The Keswick Movement*, founded in the seventies for the promotion of personal holiness; *The International Sunday School System*, *The Christian Endeavor Movement*, *Schools for Bible Study*, like Moody's Northfield Conference (1880), and finally *The Student Volunteer Missionary Union* (1885). The influence of this truly formidable array of institutions over a wide area upon people's idea of religion has been simply incalculable. Above all they have taught men that Christianity organized on the basis of its essential features can accomplish wonders; that, after all, denominational differences only hide away the essential unity of the Protestant bodies; and that in some aspects they are a hindrance, for better work can be done without them.

The Next Step: Unions Between Evangelical Churches.

After Evangelical Christians have learned this lesson, working side by side, the age of Church Unions must begin—always given a sufficient motive. There are movements for union afoot in Australia, Canada, and South Africa, where the motive lies in the essential unity of the several Dominions and the waste due to denominational rivalry. In the United States,

where so much stress is laid upon local and congregational liberties, interdenominational Union has taken on the form of Federation, each religious body and each locality being left free, as is the case in their political system. Even England, honeycombed as it is with class distinctions and ancient ecclesiastical feuds, has taken her step towards Union. The first move was made in the hope of reaching organic union and paving the way to one Church, to

" . . . be a striking illustration of a Catholic Church, including various sections each with its own form of development, and with its distinctive features of doctrine and ritual, but all one in Christ Jesus."

At the first Conference there were present seven clergymen of the Church of England and six Congregationalists. In time it was found that while it might be possible to agree concerning the essential doctrines of Christianity, it was impossible to come to an understanding with the Anglicans concerning the priestly order, or with the Baptists concerning immersion. The Church of England fell out of the movement, but the Baptists were kept in it: so that what resulted was the organization of Non-conformity as the religious counterpart of the modern democracy in the face of the Church of England, which tends to represent the more conservative elements in the land. The very wideness of the Union forced it to take the form of Federation and not corporate unity. This had the disadvantage of creating an additional organization, both local and general, but at least it gave to the Nonconformists union for the most

pressing purposes, while it left the individuality of ancient historic churches intact. The Councils have proved invaluable bodies in combatting the Church of England's large claims for control of national education, in watching for and suppressing moral abuses in public life and in the theatres and elsewhere. It has also done something to prevent overlapping in *new* suburbs, but it has been powerless against it in parts where churches existed before the Councils came in. One interesting result is that in a few, a very few, places, all Nonconformist denominations have entered into a single congregation. It is obvious that if that were to go very far the Churches would be pushed forward to organic union. It would seem that the English Free Church Federation is but another illustration of our principle that ecclesiastical organization is devised to meet the particular needs of a particular time and even a particular land. Its chief lesson for us is that even in England where ancient ecclesiastical feuds linger, the age of divisions is ended and the trend towards union has begun and that Federation is no cure for over-lapping, though it might lead to an arrangement for new suburbs and young settlements.

The Union in Scotland between the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church to make the United Free Church, and the pending negotiations for union, in spite of the difficult question of the State connection, between the (Established) Church of Scotland and the United Church, are not to the point, for they are between purely Presbyterian bodies.

They simply show that the revolt of the modern Christian conscience against needless divisions extends also to Scotland, in the matter of the relation of Presbyterian with Presbyterian, and that the Scottish people still cling to their ancient ideal of one great national Church for the whole land.

(a) *Religious Factors Working for Union in Canada.*

All those forces which we have seen at work in Protestant Christendom at large have been particularly active in Canada, and have brought the Dominion perhaps farther in the direction of Union than any other land. In no country have the ministers and teachers worked more heartily together in the international Sunday School and Christian Endeavor movements. Nowhere do the ministers of the various denominations take the Evangelical Alliance and the Week of Prayer more seriously. Nowhere has the pulpit and the teaching staff been more zealous in laying stress on the fundamental truths of Christianity, and the inward life of the Christian. Nowhere have the Christian leaders of our times gathered more whole-heartedly to work together in and for the Young Men's Christian Association, and the various Temperance Societies, including the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Nowhere have moral reforms been surer of gathering all the leading Christians of a town at their back than in this fine-spirited Canada of ours. There have been many periods in which the ministry of all the

churches of a whole city, and city after city, have plunged with unreserved zeal into weeks of common labor during some revival, perfervid or otherwise. The reader does not require to believe in all these methods of activity to see that their total influence in blurring the borders of the denominations has been incalculable, and has ended in giving our land perhaps beyond all other lands the sense of the essential oneness of all Evangelical Christians.

There are distinct reasons why this general spirit of unity should blossom into a practical proposal for Union. It is the increasing conviction of our Canadian-born that if they can grow up together happily in the state schools they ought to be able, indeed they often do, grow up together happily in the Sunday Schools; that if they can live together contentedly in a free state, at least Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists, whose denominations are so much one as to essential religion, should be able to live together in a great united but free Church. Many of us feel that just because the denominations are so sparsely scattered their religious life is occasional, the hold of the Church on the hearts of the people slight, its religion thin, its horizon narrow; that if our ranks were closed up in a great Communion on the scale of the Dominion even in country districts the grip of the Church would be close and constant, people would feel the inspiration of numbers, religion would become more a daily factor in the life of the people and their horizon would be much enlarged. That is the more domestic view. Then there is the

national. Our people are not simply Christians; they are Canadian Christians and bend their energies at once to religious and national ends. They feel a keen sense of obligation towards the great masses of population rushing into the West, to make them Christians, and in their spirit Christian Canadians. They also feel an urgent responsibility in these times of the amassing of much wealth and of the growth of great cities, with the consequent race for pleasure and the appearance of many civic, industrial and social evils. They would fain imbue the whole Canadian democracy with a high and Christian sense of duty, public and personal, and fill our people, in the mind, heart and imagination with such sentiments and ideals as would be the glory of a Christian Canada. Before this task, which is nothing short of national in its dimensions, denominational differences pale, and a great sense of Christian solidarity is growing up, in one aspect Christian, in the other Canadian, which seeks for its natural outcome in a Union of the Churches.

People accustomed to living and working together in every other department of their life are ready to live and work together in a great Union Church for such high religious and national purposes as these. They feel that the action of uniting will proclaim it to the Dominion that every barrier must be borne away to flood this land with a true and essential Christian life, and that such a proclamation marshalling the children of the Kingdom from sea to sea in the busiest city and the stillest countryside, with

a voice more eloquent, more searching, more persuasive, and more irresistible than the spoken word or printed page could possibly have, into a great army to serve their Lord and their land, must inevitably end in a great awakening of religion in the nation and a higher plane of life for the individual, for the Church and for the State.

(b) Union with Liberty.

But while there is this great trend to Union we must not overlook the fact that its goal is not uniformity of the ancient type. The very tendency to unity so much in evidence is based not on love of uniformity but on esteem of liberty. Evangelicalism seems to say: "Arrange your forms as you are brought to believe will be most in keeping with the New Testament and the genius of Christianity and at the same time as best for the needs of the time and country; do as you will about external things and ways, for they are merely the husk, but keep together as one, proclaiming the Gospel truth and proclaiming the evangelic life and practice." Both the intellectual and mystical piety of which we have spoken chafe at the ancient ecclesiasticism as laying too much stress on stringent church procedure, liturgical practice and unthinking uniformity, and they proclaim liberty to think and worship according to the varying needs of human souls. With Christ they ask for men and not institutions; with the Apostles they insist that unity must be tempered by liberty.

Accordingly advocates of Union in Canada are in sympathy with the great trend of modern thought and evangelic feeling when they cry, "Away with needless differences, let us unite!" but to be in *full and complete* harmony with the modern mind they must go a point further and give large room for divergency of thought and practice in the bosom of the great Union Church. Within reason, no forms should be compulsory. Congregations and even Presbyteries and Synods should be accorded large freedom to follow their own leading by the Spirit, yet all should somehow be welded into one. It is no light task, this, which our age dictates to us. The building which we are called on to construct needs far more skill than it took to build up the ancient uniformities. If we succeed it will not be a temple of straight lines and uniform pillars, but more like a Gothic cathedral, amazing for the freedom with which nave and transept, choir and lady-chapel, chantry and shrine are built, each after its own kind a thing of beauty in itself, but all swept by the builder's imagination into one great and inspiring whole.

(c) *The Need for Historic Continuity.*

The modern mind calls for complete liberty. Yet it is not wildly radical. Whether it be due to that vague spirit which we call Romanticism and which has been alive since before the days of Sir Walter Scott, or whether it arises from the historic sense

born of the study of history, or to the methods of stern science, the observation of the life-history of organisms or institutions and the conception of evolution, the modern spirit calls for no wild revolution but asks that we be free to progress, certainly, but that we grow as the genius of our past dictates. Hence our careful cherishing of buildings and monuments, our guarding of ancient forms of procedure in parliaments and courts, and the intense desire abroad to preserve the high traditions of our race. Hence, too, in the religious sphere, spite of all the radicalism of the last half-century, a careful cherishing of the ancient forms of faith, and an increased stress upon our continuity with by-gone ages. It is carried to extremes in the High Church movement in the Anglican Church; it acts as a great conserving influence over Broad Churchmen and liberal theologians, and everywhere it is capturing men's imaginations with the thought of the Church as a vast body of men consecrated to an age-long mission before God and towards their own kind; it is forcing men to keep in line with the great who have gone before, and even when remodelling the forms and faith of the Church, to do so reverently and affectionately, conserving all that has been most vital and beautiful in by-gone days. This conservative spirit must be prized as the normal check upon the radicalism of the times, for it is far more potent than creeds to be subscribed or resolutions of Assembly to be obeyed. Accordingly, those who build up Union, if they be wise, will avoid alienating such among us as cling to

the Churches of the past, however misguided they may seem. Rather will they try to win them for the Church which is to be as being no mean factor making for conservation in an age in which liberty runs to license, and progress threatens to sweep the past away. The Union should have nothing to fear from High Presbyterian and High Methodist traditions unless it come in the guise of a new-fangled thing which men who prize the forms and the faith of their fathers must reject. Rather the Communion which is to be has much to gain by making them feel that in the new Church the things that were, the best of that which has been, will remain, that all the trend of the Evangelic life of the past comes to its full fruition, so far as Canada is concerned, in the proposed Union, and that it will do no more than mould the old to the needs of the new, and prepare for the great things which are stored up for the future of the Dominion. This will appear in our remaining studies, in which we trace out the development of Canadian Christianity and seek for that line of progress which shall be most in keeping with the genius of our land and the religious instincts of our people.

THE FIFTH STUDY.

OUR CANADIAN HOME AND ITS CHRISTIANITY.

From considerations of space we can only illustrate, now from this colony and now from that, the parallel drift of secular and religious affairs which is as true a law of history and as potent a moulder of the destiny of the Church to-day in Canada as in other lands and ancient times. The reader who covers the ground for the first time will be astonished to see how early forces making for the transformation of the religious conceptions brought from the home Churches began to recast the denominations in the mould of a new land and to create a Christianity in its organization and spirit distinctively Canadian.

I. COLONIAL BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND ITS COLONIAL CHURCHES.

(1) BEGINNINGS.

Secular Institutions Planted.

In the colonies the supreme power lay with the governor. Yet the foundations of our Parlia-

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 201

mentary system were laid down almost from the very beginning. In each colony there were two Houses of Parliament, the Legislative Chamber appointed by the Crown, and the House of Assembly elected by the people. The governor's power was assured to him in that he nominated the Legislative Chamber, and, in himself or through it, all the servants of the government, including the Ministers; and also in that he controlled certain taxes, particularly the customs raised, not by the local Chambers, but by Act of Imperial Parliament. He was thus comparatively free to carry on the government even if the popular House refused supply. At first the influence controlling the governor was the government in England. With this feature excepted, the colonial parliamentary system was fashioned as near as might be to the English system then prevailing.

Religious Institutions Planted.

The religious system of the colonies was likewise to be English—an established and endowed Church of England. The first representative Assembly of the colony of Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, met in 1758, and in that year fixed the ecclesiastical system.

"The sacred rites and ceremonies of divine worship, according to the liturgy of the church established by the laws of England, shall be deemed the fixed form of worship and the place wherein such liturgy shall be used shall be respected and known by the name of Church of England as by law established. Provided, nevertheless

that Protestants dissenting from the Church of England . . . shall have free liberty of conscience. . . .
*All such dissenters shall be excused from any rates or taxes to be made and levied for the support of the Established Church of England.**

Various parishes were ultimately endowed with Crown lands for their support.

The course in the Canadas was essentially the same. The first civil Governor-in-chief was instructed as follows:—

"34. You are to take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your Government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by Law established, read each Sunday and Holy day, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England.

"35. You are not to prefer any Protestant Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in the Province under your Government without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London."

When the Constitutional Act of 1791 created the two Canadas, giving each province its governor and houses of legislature, provision was made in the above sense,

"For the support and maintenance of a 'Protestant Clergy' "

by setting aside, as the Crown lands should be sold, one-seventh of them as an endowment for the Church. This land was called the *Clergy Reserves*.

*This last is a "Canadian" touch in the direction of equality.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 203

The essential spirit of the times, then, was to plant and preserve in the new land the institutions of the old. The politicians looked to Downing Street, the Anglicans to the Bishop of London, the Presbyterians to the Scottish Churches, the ministers often returning to accept charges in the home churches.

But even at this early stage forces came into action which were born of the new land, and of its heterogeneous people, gathered from New England as from the United Kingdom, and belonging to communions of varying creeds and forms of government. For example, it was distinctly to attract settlers from the New England colonies into Nova Scotia that Dissenters were promised exemption from taxation for the support of the Church of England—a common justice long denied their co-religionists in England. Neither in the Church of England nor in the Kirk of Scotland, when they came to the colonies where there was no great landlord class, could the system by which patrons appointed the ministers to their churches survive, though it exists still in England. Then, again, the fact that there was no bishop* in the colony of Nova Scotia (including New Brunswick) to appoint the clergymen to the parishes issued in the system which prevails in the Maritime Provinces to this day by which the parishes freely elect their churchwardens and through them choose their clergyman. Some of these changes were what the Puritans two hundred years before had sought

*Bishop Inglis did not come until 1787.

to accomplish in the somewhat rigid Anglican system, and sought in vain. In a new land and among a new people they were freely arranged. Such is the transforming power of political and social circumstance upon the forms of the Church.

On the St. Lawrence, however, the erection of the see of Quebec (1793), when the institutions of Canada were yet in the making, secured to the episcopate the exclusive right to appoint to the parishes.

Similarly the new land made great changes almost from the beginning among the Presbyterians, chiefly in the way of robbing old-world battle-cries of their force, and encouraging unity for the work's sake. The Dutch in Lunenburg, N.S., who were of the "Reformed Church" (Presbyterian) had failed to secure a pastor from abroad. They decided in the true primitive manner to raise one of their number, Mr. Bruin Romcas Comingoe, to the office of minister. Of course they wanted him to be ordained in proper form by a Presbytery, but there was none in the land. Accordingly an informal Presbytery was constituted. It was composed of two *Presbyterian* ministers, Rev. James Lyon, an American who laboured at Halifax, Onslow and Truro, and Rev. James Murdoch, an Irishman, sent out by the *Anti-burgher Synod in Scotland* to labour among New England colonists on the Bay of Minas, and two *Congregationalist* ministers, Mr. Seccombe and Mr. Phelps, of Chester and Cornwallis, where were New England settlers. It was a union but for the day,

and the particular object, but it is very significant of the broadening and welding influences of the land.

Again, the unfortunate divisions of the Churches in Scotland were at first reproduced in the colonies. There were ministers of the Kirk in Nova Scotia, but there were still more of the two branches into which the Secession formed by the Erskines had been split. At the time of the Forty-five Rebellion the government imposed upon Scotland an Oath of Allegiance to the House of Hanover—the Burgess Oath. The stiffer Seceders saw in it an acknowledgment of the Kirk of Scotland and refused to take it. Thus the Secession broke up into what were popularly called the “Burgher” and “Antiburgher” Churches (1747). As it proved, both these groups were blessed with zealous bands of young men coming forward for the ministry, and were thus able to meet the great need of the colonists for pastors. In 1786 a Burgher Presbytery was formed, running from Truro to Cornwallis, and in 1795 an Antiburgher Presbytery, including Pictou County and ultimately Prince Edward Island.* Each Presbytery was in close relation with its mother-church in Scotland. However, such were the forces in the land making for Union that soon after the second Presbytery was formed there was an attempt to unite the two in a Synod, and the Union did actually come to pass in 1817, when the (native) *Presbyterian Church of*

* The redoubtable personality of the Antiburghers was Rev. James McGregor.

Nova Scotia was constituted, it having nothing more than friendly relations with the mother-churches.

"Of the nineteen ministers whose names appear on the roll of the Synod of *Nova Scotia*, fourteen had been connected with the two Secession Churches (i.e., *Burgher* and *Antiburgher*), three with the *Established Church of Scotland*, and two with the *English Independent Churches*."—Gregg.

In Ireland and in Scotland about this time there were unions of the "Burghers" and "Antiburghers," but it remained for the new land to make the Union wide enough to include Kirk-men and even Congregationalist ministers.

In Upper and Lower Canada the geographical difficulties were greater and the Presbyterian ministers were of an ever more varied hue. Accordingly the warring forces came into play slowly.

"The ministers had come from different countries—from Scotland, Wales, and the United States; they had been connected with different churches—the Church of Scotland, the Associate and Relief Synods of Scotland, and the Dutch Reformed and other American Presbyterian Churches."—Gregg.

However, in 1818 the first formal Presbytery was constituted, distinct and apart from any mother-church—*The Presbytery of the Canadas*. The formation of this native Presbytery appears to have been casual, being for the purpose of ordaining a gentleman to the ministry, and without any negotiations or serious attempt to bring in all the ministers possible. Hence its smallness. It consisted of but

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 207

five out of thirteen Presbyterian ministers in the two provinces.*

NOTE.—*Methodism* in the Maritime Provinces arose, as it were, spontaneously out of meetings held by a small Methodist group among the Yorkshire folk who settled about Amherst and in Cumberland County, N.S. (1772). This revival gave Methodism a first foothold and a first itinerant preacher in William Black, who, though unordained, played for Nova Scotia a part analogous to that of John Wesley in the motherland, for he founded "societies" over a wide area. He was assisted by the disintegration of Congregationalism in the western parts of the province, due (1) to political reasons, viz., its sympathies with the New England States from whence it came, and from whence it could not now easily draw its ministers, and (2) to religious influences, for the revival associated with Henry Alline worked as a disruptive force, one element going over to the Methodists, the other becoming Close Communion Baptists. Nova Scotian Methodism, after appealing in vain to England for assistance, sent William Black to the States (1784), with the result that Freeborn Garrettson took up work in Halifax. In 1786 a first Conference was held and six preachers stationed.

In the Canadas, after a certain amount of spadework had been done by zealous laymen, of the type that has been the glory of Methodism (Tuffey, a

* At this time there were 24 Anglican clergymen and 38 Methodist preachers in the two Canadas.

soldier at Quebec (1780), Major George Neale on the Niagara frontier, and a little group of loyalists in the townships of Augusta), missionaries were sent from the Republic by the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference (1790). The first circuit was formed at the Bay of Quinte. The first quarterly meeting was held in 1792 in a barn in the township of Ernesttown, and so the cause moved on, always supported from the United States. However, the War of 1812 made connection with the Republic to the South difficult. A group in Montreal invited in the English Methodists (Wesleyan), and, of course, fresh English immigrants would support their cause. Thus a grave schism appeared in the Methodist sphere. In 1817 a first Conference of the Methodism connected with the States was held, and there soon followed an arrangement by which the Methodism of Upper Canada should remain in connection with the States and that of Lower Canada with England, and there should be no intrusion.

It is interesting to note that the characteristic method of work among the Methodists of those days, the camp-meeting, was really a Presbyterian institution.

"Many persons have been under the impression that camp-meetings originated with the Methodists, but this is a mistake; they originated with the Presbyterians in the Western States of America, where religious conditions justified extraordinary methods."—Sutherland.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 209

(2) THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL MONOPOLY AND RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGE.

The Monopoly of Secular Political Power.

Around every government, including those of to-day, groups of families and interests persistently gather, in the course of years filling the administration with its members or its hangers-on, monopolizing the government contracts and biasing the rulers' policy. Nowadays we can dissipate the great "Barnacle family," as Dickens called them, by turning the government out at an election. In those times, however, the ministers as well as the Upper House were appointed by the governor, and the influence of these, along with the government's appointments and contracts, was very great in the constituencies and in the elected Chamber. Thus the "Barnacle family," composed of rich merchants in Halifax, and aristocratically inclined loyalists named "The Family Compact" in Upper Canada, gathered around the governors and took permanent possession of them and of the governing machinery. On the other hand, the mass of colonists was recruited to a considerable extent from the liberty-loving New England colonies, and later from a Britain all astir with the cry for Parliamentary reform which secured ultimately the chartered liberties of the great Reform Act. These all formed a bulk of public opinion looking on the "Barnacle family" with dislike and prepared to break up its monopoly of power. What with the con-

stitutional movement in full swing in England the Ministers for the Colonies were capable in times of crisis of understanding the similar and parallel colonial movement.

Reform or Rebellion.

The problem before the colonists was our old problem of the Reformation, "How to engraft into an autocratic or semi-autocratic government upheld by an oligarchy such machinery as would enable the people who suffer from and feel the abuses and inequalities of the government to carry the necessary reforms?" With true political instinct the people saw that the solution lay in giving the elected house supreme power in the State. Successive achievements in this direction were won by arduous agitation. In 1831 the British Parliament passed an Act granting the Colonial legislatures the control of the revenues raised by the Customs hitherto at the disposal of the Governor. This made that pro-consul dependent on the legislature for supplies to carry on the administration. Then the bench was cut off from participating in politics and supporting the powers that be. The salaries were provided for by the legislature, while judges now held their position "during good behaviour" and not at the pleasure of the governor. Yet the government remained responsible only to itself and the representative Houses could accomplish little in the way of change. Reform being denied, rebel-

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 211

lion broke out among the more inflammable elements in Lower Canada under Papineau, in Upper Canada under Mackenzie. Thereafter Lord Durham's report found it impossible

"to understand how any English statesmen could have ever imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined. To suppose that such a system would work well, implied a belief that the French-Canadians have enjoyed representative institutions for half a century without acquiring any of the characteristics of a free people; that Englishmen renounce every political opinion and feeling when they enter a colony, or that the spirit of Anglo-Saxon freedom is utterly changed and weakened among those who are transported across the Atlantic."

Accordingly, in 1840, the two Canadas were united as "the Province of Canada," under a single governor and two chambers of legislature with specific control of all finances, including the hereditary revenue of the Crown (Crown land, etc.). Subject to a reference to Imperial Parliament, they were even to decide the question of the religious establishment. The Colonial Secretary assumed a position which practically completed the gift of Responsible Government, *i.e.*, he took the appointment of ministers out of the hand of the governor by making them responsible to the House of the Assembly and so to the electorate.

"Her Majesty," he wrote, "had no desire to maintain any system of policy among her American subjects which opinion condemns." And there was "no surer way of gaining the approbation of the Queen than by maintaining

the harmony of the executive with the legislative authorities."

It took a little time to get the English governors, long since accustomed to do no more than consult the legislature but rather to rule like *pro-consuls*, to bring the practice up to the principle. For example, it was not till 1846, after a sharp contest between Joseph Howe and Lord Falkland, the then governor of Nova Scotia, that the redoubtable orator was returned with a majority at his back and the practice of surrendering the government into the hands of the party which returned from an election with the approval of the people was made good in that province.

The Parallel Monopoly of Religious Privileges.

The Church of England, as we have seen, received at the outset a position of privilege. It had lands set apart and even money voted for its institutions. Its clergy alone could marry people, except that the Scottish ministers were allowed, after obtaining a license to do so, to perform the marriage ceremony when the couple were both members of their flock. Unfortunately for her, this system placed the Church, as a monopolist of revenues and power, in the same relation to the bulk of the colonists as that held by the great "Barnacle Family," and consequently the movement to abolish political inequality aimed also at ending the religious privileges of the Anglican Church. Accordingly, the bishops threw

themselves on the side of the governor and his "set." The situation reminds us at every turn of the ancient league between the Episcopate and the Stuart Kings to fight the Puritan movement which aimed at parliamentary government and reform. Of course, none were loyal who did not support the governor and the Church. "No bishop, no King," said James I. "No established Church of England, no imperial connection," in effect said Dr. Strachan, afterwards Bishop of Toronto. Consequently the hottest struggles between the government and the people were over religious or semi-religious questions, especially in Upper Canada, where the Clergy Reserves were a cause of contention.

When a "township" of two miles square, divided into "concessions" and "lots," was sold, one-seventh of its lands were reserved for the Church of England. At first the land was of little value, but as the country filled up its worth was enhanced. On the other hand it paid no taxes and did nothing towards making roads. In 1817-8 Bishop Mountain, first Bishop of Quebec, drew up a plan for dividing the country into parishes and endowing them. To this end the Clergy Reserves were put into the hands of the Episcopalian clergy for management.

The Divisive Influence of State Support.

This Anglican monopoly of State support was felt as a grievance by all the other bodies, and put a deep chasm between the Church of England and the bulk

of the colonials. But it did more: the principle of State support made differences among the denominations themselves, for the opponents of the Anglican monopoly were not at one as to its remedy. The ministers of the Church of Scotland, accustomed to receiving State support in the motherland, would have been content if only they were given a position in the religious establishment, and the English Wesleyans were willing to take money from the Imperial Government for their missions. Inasmuch as this placed a gulf between these privileged Presbyterian and Methodist brethren and their fellows who were less fortunate, the divisive influence of the State connection went very far.

The Anglicans Refuse the Presbyterians a Share in State Support.

At the outset the Anglicans would not come to terms with the Presbyterians. In 1819 a petition from the Presbyterians of the town of Niagara issued in a legal decision in London that the term "a Protestant clergy" of the Constitutional Act, 1791, would permit of support from the Clergy Reserves being given to the Church of Scotland, it being an Established Church, but not to Dissenters. The Colonial Governor appears to have withheld this decision from the public, so that nothing was done. In 1823 the House of Assembly took up the Presbyterian case by resolving to petition the Crown as follows:—

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 215

"If His Majesty, when he graciously authorized an appropriation of land to the support and maintenance of a *Protestant clergy*, did not contemplate a provision for the clergy of the Church of Scotland that they ought now to come under His Majesty's most favorable consideration by being otherwise provided for."

The Legislative Council refused to concur in the petition, and before forwarding it the governor wrote the Colonial Office urging the exclusive claims of the Church of England against the Kirk of Scotland.

The Anglican Quarrel with the Methodists of Upper Canada.

The Scottish ministers had somehow not found the way to the Canada that was to be. The true path of Canadian progress began to appear during an ugly controversy between the Anglicans and the Methodists, especially those whose connection was with the United States, and who consequently had the ideal of religious equality before their eyes. The latter found an able champion in Egerton Ryerson, and the former a strenuous leader in Dr. Strachan. In a sermon preached at the death of Dr. Mountain, first bishop of Quebec, Dr. Strachan made an appeal for support of the Church of England on the ground that the other denominations might lead the people into disloyalty, but the Church of England would save English sentiment in the colonies.

"When it is considered that the religious teachers of the other denominations of Christians, a very few respectable ministers of the Church of Scotland excepted, come

almost universally from the Republican States of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments, it is quite evident that if the Imperial Government does not immediately step forward with efficient help, the mass of the population will be nurtured and instructed in hostility to our parent Church, nor will it be long till they imbibe opinions anything but favorable to the political institutions of England.

"It is only through the Church and its institutions that a truly English character and feeling can be given to or preserved in any foreign possession."

A cynic is likely to be indulgent to the arguments of a clergyman pleading for an increased collection, whether from the audience or the Government, but the War of 1812 was within the memory of those days, and during its course, though the Methodists had their connections with the States, they had stood true to the flag. It was scarcely patriotism to ignore this indisputable fact in order to get increased support from the Government. There need be no reason for surprise, then, that the Methodists' feelings were deeply wounded.

The True Canadian Policy.

The incident, however, worked good for the Methodists and the Canadian public. It brought out Egerton Ryerson as the champion spokesman for Methodism, it rallied a public opinion much wider than the denomination to its support, and it brought the elected Chamber within a clear vision of the true policy for Canada. The House of Assembly resolved,

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 217

by thirty-one votes to two, the majority including all denominations:—

“That a comparatively small proportion of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are members of the Church of England, and therefore ought not in justice to desire the sole enjoyment, by their clergy, of all the advantages which (the Clergy Reserve) lands present, to the exclusion of their fellow subjects, although equally loyal and firm in their attachment to His Majesty's Government and Constitution.

“That it is the opinion of a great proportion of the people of this Province that the Clergy lands, in place of being enjoyed by the clergy of an inconsiderable part of the population, ought to be disposed of, and the proceeds of their sale applied to increase the provincial allowance for the support of District and Common Schools, and the endowment of a Provincial Seminary for learning, and in aid of erecting places of public worship for all denominations of Christians.”—December, 1826.

A bill in this sense was passed by the elected House but fell through in the Legislative Chamber.

I suppose it was to divide the opposition and allay feeling that at this time (1827) the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholics were granted £750 each out of the ordinary funds, the Clergy Reserves being held to be “especially allotted by the Imperial Parliament to the Established Church.”

Meanwhile Dr. Strachan had visited England, urged again his patriotic plea and secured a Royal Charter for a “King's College” in York (Toronto) with an endowment of 225,000 acres of land and a grant of £1,000 a year for sixteen years, the president to be a clergyman of the Church of England,

the College Council to be composed of members of that Church. In "*An Appeal to the Friends of Religion*," etc., issued in London, 1827, amid much that is laudable Dr. Strachan pleaded:

"It is impossible to set limits to the influence which the University of the Upper Province may acquire over (the vast population-to-be) the greater portion of which may, through the Divine blessing, be brought up in the communion of the Church of England."

The whole matter created great indignation, and the House of Assembly adopted the report of a committee which ran:

"To be of real service, the principles on which (a university) is established must be in union with the general sentiments of the people. It should not be a school of politics or sectarian views. Its portals should be thrown open to all, and upon none who enter should any influence be exerted to attach them to a particular creed or church. Such an institution would be a blessing to the country, its pride and glory."

Thus early were the foundation-stones of the Canada of the future being laid—at this stage in the minds and convictions of the people.

The Presbyterians Accept a Privileged Position.

Meanwhile the Presbyterian ministers, even such as were not of the Kirk, were being misled by the ideals of the motherland and seeking for a privileged position upheld by the State. The ministers of the (native united) Presbytery of the Canadas

petitioned for a support from the government equal to that given to the Kirkmen. The reply from Downing Street was that with that end in view "the whole Presbyterian clergy of the Province should form a presbytery or synod" (1830). Accordingly the Kirkmen formed a "Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland," with four presbyteries and the (united) "Presbytery of the Canadas" became the *United Synod of Upper Canada*. Negotiations for the union of these two synods fell through. The Government then granted the United Synod £700 a year to be divided among their eleven ministers.

Methodism Grows More Distinctly Canadian.

While the Scottish ministers were leading their churches away from what has proved the true Canadian course, the Methodists in connection with the States were swinging into it. Their controversy with Dr. Strachan brought before them and before the Canadian public and the House of Legislature the ideal of all religious bodies being placed in an equal and self-dependent position before the law and the Government. It also forced them to cut themselves free from the United States. In 1824 they had formed a Canadian Conference in connection with the States, but the General Conference of 1828, meeting at Pittsburg, set them free and the (native) *Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada* was formed. In 1833 they united with the Wes-

leyan wing in Lower Canada, under the name of *The Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America*. There were some changes in the forms. For example, "bishops" had been appointed for life in the Episcopal body. Otherwise they differed only in name from the "presidents" of the British Wesleyans. Henceforth "presidents" presided over the Conferences, and they were elected annually. A group of malcontents in 1834 founded a small separate denomination preserving the office of "bishop." Another little schism had occurred in 1829.

Public Opinion Rallies to a Canadian Policy of Equality.

However, the harmony even of the Methodist body was broken by the controversy over the Clergy Reserve lands. On the other hand, the vast body of Canadian lay opinion of all Churches was rallying to the standard of religious equality upon which the peace of our Dominion now rests so securely. A petition drawn up in York (December, 1830) and signed by 10,000 persons, the elected House having passed parallel resolutions, was taken to London. It may be accepted as the true Canadian policy. Its prayer was

" . . . to leave the ministers of all denominations to be supported by the people among whom they labor . . . to do away with all political distinctions on account of religious faith. . . .

" . . . To grant to the clergy of all denominations the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges (including

THE COLONIAL CHURCH SYSTEM 221

solemnizing matrimony) in everything that appertains to them as subjects of His Majesty's Government. . . .

" . . . to modify the Charter of King's College . . . so as to exclude all sectarian tests and preferences, . . . to appropriate the sale of (the Clergy) lands to the purposes of general education and various internal improvements."

Methodists Differ and Fall Apart.

Provoked by a fresh aspersion upon their loyalty in a petition forwarded by the bishops and Anglican clergy, the Methodist Conference (1831), for the first time as a body, took the field in a counter-petition to the Crown. Their paper, the *Christian Guardian*, with Egerton Ryerson in the editorial chair, became the rallying point of the policy of equality, but had little success in the face of the power of the Family Compact. In 1835 Governor Sir John Colborne created fifty-seven rectories of the Church of England and endowed them with glebe lands out of the Clergy Reserves. This was a public proclamation that the movement for reform had failed. Rebellion, led by William Lyon Mackenzie and a few extremists, followed. The Methodists throughout kept their skirts clear from disloyalty, but when peace was restored Ryerson, in the *Christian Guardian*, returned to the attack. The Governor, to silence him, wrote (1838) to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, England, whose missionaries were receiving a Government grant. There grew up in consequence within the Methodist body a circle inclined to be complacent towards the

Government. This group privately wrote to the Governor (1840) that they did not object to an established Church of England, that their body should be put in a position in no way inferior to the Church of Scotland, and "that the sum to be appropriated to us be given to the Wesleyan Methodists who are now, or who may be hereafter, connected with the British Wesleyan Conference." The glamour of English ideals and the lure of Government support led the English Methodists, like the Scottish Presbyterians, to diverge from the true line of development for Canada and, moreover, produced division in their denomination. They tried to silence Egerton Ryerson on the ground that he was conducting a political campaign, but the Conference stood by him. The quarrel developed until there was actually a disruption (1840).

The Canadian Spirit Will Find the True Canadian Policy.

Throughout, the question of enjoying assistance from the State was a root of bitterness between the several religious bodies and a cause of heart-burning and division within the individual denomination. Let us not assume an air of superiority. The true path of development is by no means easy to find in any age. It is hardest of all to find when men come from an ancient civilization, and must develop a new social organism whose genius has yet to be learned. Let us give the credit of good intentions

to one and all. Let us turn to blame none. All the same, it seems perfectly clear that those who followed too closely the organization of religion prevailing in the mother land missed the track to the Canada which is to-day, but those who made their decisions looking not behind but before, steadfastly asking what would harmonize with the sentiments of the people as a whole, *they* found the way that has brought us to the freedom, unity and peace which are our present blessing. This conclusion is not without its bearing on the question of Union as it presents itself to-day.

II. THE WELDING OF THE CANADIAN PROVINCES AND CANADIAN CHURCHES.

When the colonists became masters in their own house they devoted themselves to setting it in order and to making their land the home of all Canadians, without respect to class or creed. Both in State and Church free forms of government, equality in the eyes of the law, and the unity of all Canadians became the foundation principles of the social structure.

(1) SELF-DEPENDENT BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES AND COLONIAL CHURCHES.

Clearing the Site for Building Our Secular System.

As the colonies were separate units the course taken by the several provinces in setting their

house in order varied, but the same spirit was manifested everywhere. Monopolies were abolished and institutions open to all Canadians took their place. The seigneurial land-system, a relic of feudal times which lingered in Quebec, was done away with. It became open to all to be their own landlord. The "Barnacle Family" was broken up and the first beginnings of a civil service system laid down after the English ideal, in theory at least, independent of the sway of political parties to and fro. The grip of the governing centres upon a whole province was relaxed by granting the localities municipal government. The system of sectarian schools gave place to one of a truly national character in each colony. Egerton Ryerson, the champion of undenominationalism, became Chief Superintendent of Education for the district of Upper Canada.

Clearing the Site for Our Religious System.

Similarly religious monopolies were abolished and the foundation of a Canadian Christianity, with all Churches equal and free, was laid. All government support of religious institutions ceased. The Clergy Reserve lands were secularized, due compensation being given to ministers enjoying the funds. Sectarial institutions supported by the state were also secularized. Dr. Strachan's King's College became the University of Toronto, its Board of Governors, its professorial chairs, and its class-rooms being made open to all classes and to every faith. McGill

College, founded and endowed to be a religious institution, was remodelled and placed in the way of its career as an all-Canadian university. In the East, King's College, Fredericton, endowed with lands near that city, and supported by gifts of £1,000 each from the Imperial and Colonial governments, with the Anglican bishop *ex officio* visitor, and the Archdeacon of New Brunswick *ex officio* President, and its Council and professors exclusively Anglican, became a secular university for the province (1845). King's College, Windsor, though founded on the same basis, was handed over to the Church of England. On the other hand, Dalhousie College, which had been endowed by a far-seeing Governor to be open to all but had led a precarious existence, like some plant sprung up before its due season, now began to thrive and to make good its mission towards the province. Thus all the religious bodies of the several colonies were forced, willy-nilly, into a position of equality in the eyes of the State and cast upon their own resources (save for their connection with the mother-churches), while the great institutions of the land were thrown open to one and to all.

Equality and Liberty bring Peace and Unity.

What strikes one most is the almost dramatic cessation of sectarian strife and the public peace which this system called into existence. I often wonder if the great dead, each from his own place in the empyrean, can follow the happenings that have come

after them, on the very spot of their former activities, or in the direct development of institutions or principles for which they struggled. What did Julius Cæsar think when he surveyed from his exalted place the scene of his months of preparation, of his long toilsome night across the English Channel to those white cliffs which baffled his hopes of a peaceful landing—what did he think when he saw recently a daring spirit fly along his course, almost point to point, over water and through cloud, in less than one swift hour to a safe landing and a welcome of wild joy? So, even as I write, I wonder what that anonymous Congregationalist author of the days of the Great Revolution, who dared to tell England that “religious liberty was not confusion,” but that “liberty of conscience was the sole means to obtain peace and truth,” felt in the way of self-satisfaction when he saw, from his place behind the clouds, where doubtless his anonymity is less successfully kept than on earth, that Canada had organized its religion on his principles and been brought by them to a profound peace. In this settlement the Congregationalist ideal that men can freely enter into a spiritual covenant with God and in so doing constitute a church, and that the State must treat all such bodies with an even hand, was accepted from the very necessities of circumstance as the foundation of Canadian Christianity. It meant that willy-nilly our politico-ecclesiastical system was to be quite distinct from that of England or Scotland, or, for

that matter, all Europe, and that it would rather be one to be placed alongside of the United States. However, it soon began to be apparent that we were not to have an "American" system, free but of fragments. We were to have a Canadian system with our Churches free, but united in organizations on an all-Canadian scale. External divisive influences being removed the denominations could unite within themselves as the new Canadian sense of unity made itself felt, and possibly in the process of time denomination would join with denomination to make a religious system as wide and as free, yet as united, as the new land itself.

(2) THE DOMINION AND DOMINION CHURCHES.

The Union of All Canada in the Dominion.

Of all the changes which the Canadians made when they became masters in their own house, the most dramatic was in the direction of Union. Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, having problems of their own, proposed to solve them by uniting their resources under one common government. "Canada" sought escape from its own difficulties by subdivision into the provinces of Quebec and Ontario with a re-union of them in a Confederation. In due time, all the British North American colonies were united, the Dominion was created and a nation born. The story is too well known to need repetition.

Church Unions on the Scale of the Dominion.

We have by this time grown so accustomed when we have before us a great political movement to see it accompanied by its inevitable religious counterpart, that we now turn as by instinct to find in the Dominion from sea to sea, Dominion Churches from ocean to ocean. The period of division, at least within the individual denomination, is past, and a period of Union has set in; all the Churches begin to fit themselves into the new political organization.

The Church of England on the Dominion Scale.

The Church of England led the way, possibly because it has always seen itself in the light of the whole nation, perhaps because its solidarity lies more in the individual episcopal see, and the unity that is in the bench of bishops is consultative rather than legislative. This makes union on the large scale, if less effective, more easily attained. At any rate, episcopal see after episcopal see had been founded—Toronto (1839), Fredericton (1845), Montreal (1850), Huron (1859), (East) Ontario (1862)—and as the country was moving towards Union a Metropolitan was elected for the whole Dominion. Thus early (1860), even before Confederation, did the Church of England declare her faith in the unity of all Canada.

Another mark of the influence of the self-governing Dominion on the Anglican Church was the welding of the bishop, his clergy and laity into a sort of

diocesan parliament. In the old English Home bishops were and are appointed by the Crown; they were in the possession of great endowments; they were consequently very powerful, and in their administration self-sufficient and autocratic; they felt little need of consulting their clergy or laity, and showed considerable fear, as we have seen in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of assemblies of the clergy and laity; but in the new Canada, without establishment or endowment, the bishop ceased to be appointed by the Crown. He ceased to be an autocrat, but is elected by his clergy and laity, and in order to secure the means for administering his diocese, he must win the approval and assistance of all its churches. Hence the Canadian Father in God came to feel that he must call his clergy and laity to his side. As early as 1832, Dr. Strachan, who had been brought up in a Presbyterian home in Aberdeen, and once made application for admission to the Presbyterian ministry, said :

"I am quite convinced we shall never gain much ground in the Province, or obtain that influence on public opinion, or with the Government, or with the Bishop himself, till we have frequent convocations to consist of the laity as well as the clergy."

But so long as we had an autocratic Governor we had the autocratic bishop. When we gained a real parliamentary system of government the Anglican Church developed its ecclesiastical parliamentary system. In 1851 Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, found the road clear to his early ideal. He formed in his diocese the first diocesan Synod, and

led the way to the Church synodical system. It was modelled on that of the United States and consisted of a House of Clergy and a House of the Laity, meeting separately, but concurrently, under the guidance of the bishop. This lead has been followed in every Canadian diocese not strictly of the missionary order. Moreover, the natural consequence of the Crown ceasing to appoint bishops was that their election should fall to the diocesan Synod. Disestablishment and the development of the Synod gathered around an elected bishop took Canadian Anglicanism back to the forms of the early Church of the age before Constantine the Great, notably of the age of Cyprian. In so doing it drew it in important features of its system of government a long distance towards Presbyterianism. When we add to this that the parishes have now a very large power in the direction of calling their ministers, we have a very considerable transformation towards democratic forms of government wrought upon a somewhat rigid autocratic system by the democracy of a new country. Altogether it is as pretty an illustration as we have to give of the transforming influences of the outward social and political sphere upon the organization of the Christian Church. (See Appendix 1.)

The Presbyterian Church on the Scale of the Dominion.

The Presbyterians were equally influenced by the trend of political life in the new land. It is true

that it was not necessary for them to modify their forms of government to fit in with a democratic Canada. Rather the Canadian political system grew up to the ideal of the ecclesiastical system of Presbyterianism, for it placed its municipal council over the small area, not unlike our Presbytery; it formed its provincial legislature supervising the councils in a well-defined area much as the Synods do the presbyteries, and finally it laid down the Dominion Parliament as a supreme administrative and legislative body quite comparable to our General Assembly from olden times. But there was much for the Presbyterians to do in the way of wiping out the divisions among them in the individual colony, and binding up the churches of the different provinces into a Presbyterian Church of the Dominion.

Presbyterianism had grown strong, and particularly the hold of the Kirk of Scotland had been greatly strengthened by the constant stream of Scottish immigration. The Glasgow Colonial Society, founded in 1824, had stirred up the Kirk to a new zeal, had found men and means, and had done much in all the Canadian provinces to make her contribute her part in the learning and the eloquence of her men to making religion respected in the highest circles of the land. Synods of the Church of Scotland had been established in the Maritime Colonies and in "Canada," but they were shattered by the Disruption (1843), for their ministers were recalled to Scotland to fill some out of the many vacancies left in the disrupted mother-Church. The Canadian

Synods were consequently greatly enfeebled, but still more disastrous was the Canadian disruption which created "The Free Church" in Canada, a new Presbyterian denomination in a land already too much afflicted with religious division. Fortunately the tide was turning towards Union, and men were beginning to bring their eyes from the past to the future, from the home-land to the Canada that was to be. The great period of immigration was over so far as the ground east of the Lakes was concerned. The people were beginning to feel at home in their new land, and were feeling wealthy enough to care for their churches themselves. Ties with the mother-churches, dear to this day, when it came to practice meant less and less, while old battle-cries began to signify nothing. So alongside of the process of building up a native Canada there ran the process of constructing a native Canadian Presbyterian Church. The Maritime Provinces led the way.

(a) In 1860 the *Synod of Nova Scotia* (the native Church with 40 ministers and 5 missionaries in foreign lands) united with the much younger *Free Church of Nova Scotia* (36 ministers) to form the (native) *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America*.

(b) In 1861, in "Canada," the (native) *Synod of the United Presbyterian Church* (68 ministers) united with the *Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church* (158 ministers) to become the *Canada Presbyterian Church*.

(c) In 1866 the *Synod of New Brunswick* (Free Church, 18 ministers) united with the *Synod of the Lower Provinces* (110 ministers).

At this point Confederation took place—July 1st, 1867. There were now, still separate organizations, two native Presbyterian Churches in the Dominion, and a series of groups in connection with the Kirk of Scotland.

(d) In 1868 the ministers of the Church of Scotland in *Nova Scotia*, *New Brunswick* and *Prince Edward Island* united as the *Synod of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in connection with the Church of Scotland* (37 ministers). This left two native and two Kirk organizations in the land.

(e) These, *The (native) Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces* (124) and the *(Kirk) Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces* (31) and the *(native) Canada Presbyterian Church* (358) and the *(Kirk) Presbyterian Church of Canada* (149) united on June 15th, 1875, to form the *Presbyterian Church in Canada* (with 662 ministers, 90,653 communicants, and 600,000 adherents).

Thus within eight years of the birth of the Dominion there was consummated a Dominion Presbyterian Church, free from all ties with mother-churches, yet bound to them with an affection as true and as potent as the unseen ties which bind the Dominion to the motherland. At the same time, just as Canada was now well on a course of development all her own, Canadian Presbyterianism having cut itself clear

from all external ties, was free to follow its adopted land step by step on its self-dependent path of progress, and he would be a bold man who would deny that its extraordinary prosperity is due in large measure to the thoroughly national spirit in which it has taken up its great Christian mission in this fair Dominion that stretches from sea to sea.

The Methodist Church on the Scale of the Dominion.

As if the facts in connection with the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches were not enough to convince us that we have here nothing short of a national movement, we have an imposing procession of Methodist unions to make our conviction firm. There appear to have been altogether nine Methodist bodies in the British North American colonies. Some were separated simply by geographical conditions as, for example, *The British Wesleyan Methodists in Canada*, and the *East British American Wesleyan Methodists* in the Maritime Colonies. Some were divided because they were the off-shoots of different parents; for example, these two were derived from the British Wesleyan Methodists, three other bodies from the *Methodist Episcopal Church* in America; then, too, the *Methodist New Connexion* came from a parent stem in England as did the *Protestant Methodists*, the *Primitive Methodists*, and the *Bible Christian Churches*. Some grew out of internal difficulties, viz., the three which sprang up out of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It will be remembered that this

body became a (native) Canadian Church in 1828. A small body broke off in 1829, taking as its name the *Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church*. In 1833 came the union with the British Wesleyan body, followed by another secession, that of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The union of 1833, as we saw, was disrupted in 1840 because of differences over the agitation against the Clergy Reserves.

However, the Union of Lower and Upper Canada into one province was followed by unions of the Methodists on the scale of the new province.

(a) In 1847 the (native) Methodist Episcopal Church (in Upper Canada) re-united with the British Wesleyan Methodists (chiefly in Lower Canada) to form the *Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada*, coterminous with the province.

(b) Similarly, in 1847, also, the Methodist New Connexion (in Lower Canada) united with the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church (in Upper Canada, the secession of 1829) to form the *Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion*, likewise coterminous with the province.

(c) In 1850 "another union was formed (by these last) with the *Protestant Methodists*"—"a small community in Eastern Canada, of whom history gives no account" (Sutherland).

With the formation of the Dominion (1867) Methodist unions began to be on the scale of the Dominion.

(d) In 1874, the year before the great Presbyterian Union, the above two great connexions in the

province of Canada, viz., the *Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada*, and the *Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion*, united and swept into their union the *Wesleyan Church of the Eastern British American Provinces*, under the name, "*The Methodist Church in Canada*." This union involved the severance of the bodies concerned from the jurisdiction of the parent Churches in the Old Country. It was the first draught of a Methodist Church on the scale of the Dominion, self-dependent, yet acknowledging ties with the home Church.

There still remained the three other bodies, the *Methodist Episcopal Church* (the secession of 1833), the *Primitive Methodists*, and the *Bible Christians*.

(e) In the year 1883 these and the main body all united in one grand Church, "*The Methodist Church in Canada*."

There was one feature in the larger body concerned in this last union which was not quite in harmony with the democratic spirit of the new land. There was no representation of the laity in the Annual Conference. At the instance of the smaller bodies uniting this was granted, and Methodism received its final fitting into our modern democracy. This constituted a very important step towards removing the barriers between that body and Presbyterianism. Both communions were now following, to all appearance, a course in the wake of the Dominion. Within themselves they constituted like it a solid but free democracy. They became coterminous with it. Like it they took a self-dependent Canadian

course, and withal they were bound by the closest ties of sympathy and affection with the mother-bodies from which they were sprung.

The question which now faces us is: "Have the Canadian political and ecclesiastical systems come to a final perfection? Have they reached a standstill, or will our political system create an ever-increasing sense of national unity, an ever-growing consciousness of nationhood? If so, can that be accomplished without influencing the Churches in the same direction? As the people win a keener sense of unity will there not arise a deepened sense of the oneness of Canadian Christianity? Shall we not begin to hear of interdenominational unions, and to dream of unity spreading in ever-widening circles until it reach the farthest limits of Canadian life?"

(3) CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION.

... great and effective system of government, ... matter, of philosophy, is laid down in State or Church, people immediately begin to regard it as perfect, and quietly assume that it will not, that it cannot, change. I suppose there have been times—in the days of the Roman Empire, or in the heart of China—when it was excusable for folk to assume the unchangeableness of things and to acclaim the "Eternal City," or the "Unchanging East," but even Rome came to see the terrible forward march of history, and now, in our time, China herself learns that the wheels of life, if they grind slowly, grind

surely onward. But no country has had less excuse for believing that the world remains at a standstill than Canada since the Confederation. Every department of its life, secular and religious, has moved forward almost under our very eyes since the first Dominion Day.

(a) *The Sense of Canadian Unity and Nationhood.*

Though it might seem that Canadian unity was consummated at the Confederation, really it only then began to be. The binding up of British Columbia with the Atlantic provinces only commenced with the call to Confederation. Since then we have been accomplishing a more complete union of the provinces by filling in the wide spaces between. Similarly we have been working out a more perfect unity by arousing within our varying races and religions a common love for our king and country. The pride with which all types of citizens, irrespective of race or creed, saw Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Frenchman and Roman Catholic, so to say, apart from politics, the embodiment in his person of the united races of Canada, is witness to that. Through all this generation we have been welding the heterogeneous populations that have come to our shores into a real union. This we are doing by the common institutions under which we live, which knock off national peculiarities within three generations, on the average, and chisel out the normal Canadian. All classes are in the same party system, they rub shoulders in the market-place and factory; above all in the school the

young Canadians are being standardized; in the Sunday Schools and churches, in the various societies, in a score of ways there is being accomplished the work of creating that sum of sentiments and character and will which constitute, beneath the idiosyncrasies of the individual what we may call the normal Canadian. I think of a family A, and of a family B, which I can trace through three generations. A1, the grandfather, was a university man from Scotland; B1, a Yorkshireman, came across rough and illiterate, but with a purposeful character. Their sons, A2, B2, had lost much of the brogues of their fathers, and were respectable, worthy and even successful men. A2 followed a learned profession, but had missed much of the finer spirit of his father, and was a step down. B2 had thrown off much of his father's illiteracy, and taken a step up. The young grandsons, A3 and B3, show neither the fine culture nor the illiteracy of the grandfathers. They were brought up in the same type of town, of school and of society, and are on a level. A3 is simply a bright lovable Canadian youth in business; so is B3, with this difference, that B3 is a university man—the literate offspring of an illiterate grandfather. Future generations of these families will come up more and more efficient and intelligent, all stamped with the hall-mark of Canadian citizenship, for without losing their personal characteristics they will be standardized Canadians. There is thus being created a great central mass of citizens who are pervaded with the feeling of the oneness of all the

people of the Dominion. We are attaining gradually to a distinct sense of our nationhood. We are slowly growing conscious that we have the destiny of a mighty nation before us.

This more quickened sense of the oneness and the greatness of the Dominion began with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and rose perceptibly at the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria (1887.) Certainly it had gone far enough in the eighties to find expression for itself in verse, for in 1889 *The Songs of the Great Dominion* were gathered and its contents arranged under the heads: (1) Songs of the Imperial Spirit; (2) Songs of the New Nationality, etc. Here is an excerpt taken from "Dominion Day," and given, not for its versification, but to prove the existence of a budding national sentiment before 1889.

"Past feud and battle, buried far behind the peaceful
years,
While Gaul and Celt and Briton turn to pruning hooks
their spears ;
Four nations welded into one, with long historic past,
Have found on these, our western wilds, one common
life, at last ;
Through the young giant's mighty limbs that stretch
from sea to sea,
There runs a throb of conscious life, of waking energy.
From Nova Scotia's misty coast to far Columbia's shore,
She wakes, a band of scattered homes and colonies no
more,
But a young nation, with her life full beating in her
breast,
A noble future in her eyes, the Briton of the West."

This awakened sense of nationhood has been passing out from the few unto the multitudes very markedly in the last two decades. The Queen's Diamond Jubilee, at which Sir Wilfrid Laurier first "starred," but above all the participation of our "Canadian Boys" in the South African War, wrought wonders, until now the constant association of the Dominion as a unit with the motherland and the sister Dominions in council and preparation for defence have almost made the thought of our nationhood a settled habit of our people, and we always think of that nationhood as linked with the mother-country in a vast Empire.

We seem here to be treading on firm ground. The whole trend of secular affairs in our land is towards a compact people, with a character and a career of our own, with a history and a literature distinctively our own. On this last point let Sir John Bourinot speak (1901):

"The Canadian people are displaying an intellectual activity commensurate with the expansion of their territory and their accumulation of wealth. The scientific, historical and political contributions of three decades make up a considerable library which shows the growth of what may be called Canadian literature; some of it deals chiefly with subjects essentially of Canadian interest. The attention that is now particularly devoted to the study and writing of history, and the collection of historical documents relating to the Dominion, prove clearly the national and thoroughly Canadian spirit that is already animating the cultured class of its people."

Yet it is not an independent Canada but one drawing at once its spirit and most of its population from the great land from which we are sprung.

The Sense of Christian Unity Within the Nation.

Do we see any symptoms of a trend towards Christian unity within the Dominion running, as we have seen religion always inclined to run, parallel with the national tendency? We do. We have ample evidence that just as in the former generation the removal of all cause for religious strife and the unification of the colonies broke down the differences within the individual denominations and swept them on to unity within themselves, so now with the continuance of religious peace and an accentuation of the unity of the races in our land the differences between denomination and denomination are beginning to break down and an added stress is being laid upon the essential unity of all Christians within the Dominion. There have been changes in the point of view of the denominations which may justly be compared with the changes in the attitude of the races within our border, which, while in no way diminishing their own minor loyalties, have tended to merge them in a major loyalty to Christ and our country. This is particularly true with regard to Presbyterianism and Methodism. Each of them has undertaken with unmistakable fervor the enormous task of absorbing the varied elements which come to our shores and enter our social system, in order to permeate them with that Christian senti-

ment which we believe to be one of the finest heritages of our land. To accomplish this they have borrowed largely from one another, or, to put it more correctly, they have adapted themselves to the demands of the times and of a Canadian public which is composed indiscriminately of Presbyterians and Methodists and many others. The Methodists (here as also in England) have given the laity the share in the control of their church that they have always had in the Presbyterian system. In a Canada of increasing culture, and probably because of the high standard of learning in the Presbyterian ministry, they have laid increasing stress upon the training of their preachers. On the other hand, the Presbyterians have been strongly influenced by that general indifference to theology which is characteristic of the Canadian public, and have devoted themselves to preaching a heart religion, after the manner of the Methodists, to appealing to the sentiments of the people, and even here and there to the methods of a perfervid revivalism. I have heard sermons in Anti-burgher Pictou County, N.S., whose undiluted, undogmatic Evangelicalism would have been denounced half a century ago as a lamentable falling away from "the faith delivered to the saints of old." It is all due to the fact that while the pulpits of the denominations teach and educate the pew, none the less the preachers are drawn from a common reservoir of Canadian citizens, and they have to address a common average of Canadian citizenship. Thus the denominations draw together because the Cana-

dian public has grown together and has given itself to common religious ideals as well as common civic aims.

Accordingly all those institutions which we saw making for a common Canadian citizenship are making also for a common Canadian Christianity. Methodist and Presbyterian, as well as Englishman and Scot, sit side by side in the various Cabinets, Parliaments and municipal councils of the land; they rub shoulders in the market-place and factory, in society and in the political party. Above everything else they go to the same schools, where they are standardized as Canadians, and not Methodist Canadian or Presbyterian Canadian. The Sunday Schools of the two Churches so far from counteracting this creation of a common Canadian norm by the day school, increase it, for the lessons are the same, the methods of teaching are essentially the same, and in hundreds of places the teachers of both schools meet in a common class for their preparation to teach. The result is that the Methodist and Presbyterian children are being formed in conformity to a standard of Christianity which is not Methodist nor Presbyterian, but is rather Canadian Christian. Similar influences are at work among the adults in all those parts of the country where Methodist and Presbyterian preaching alternate, for everybody goes to all the services, and the mixed Presbyterian-Methodist choir does duty on all occasions. There is a formidable row of institutions in the country—Schools, Sunday Schools including

Conventions, Christian Endeavour Societies, including Conventions, Young Men's Christian Associations, Universities, Student Volunteer Unions, Laymen's Leagues, Bible Societies, Christian Temperance Unions, Evangelical Alliances—all working like so many mills planing off denominational idiosyncrasies and making the standardized Canadian Christian.

Out of the Sense Unity, the Call for Union.

Upon this mass of Canadian Christians in the three Churches involved in the Union, the great task has been laid first to keep pace with the incoming population in the way of finding and stationing ministers, and secondly to permeate the whole Canadian democracy, all the more urgently because of the demoralizing influences of suddenly acquired wealth, with Christian feelings and a Christian public conscience.

In the face of that enormous national task the three Churches have raised the question of Union. So far have they grown together in this new land, so trifling do denominational differences appear, so certain their essential unity beneath all divergencies, that they seem ready to unite on the scale of the Dominion if only they may accomplish towards Canada that great mission which Christ placed upon the Church towards the whole world. It is useless to point out that the Churches are not bankrupt, or forced by exhaustion into Union. It is not to the point to plead that they have already done and are

doing wonders and that we leave well alone, for we have here, not a calculation of dollars and cents, nor two firms discussing a purely business amalgamation. We have to deal with an inevitable national process. Why did Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh scour the seas to enlarge the domain of England? Was it that she was in financial straits? England was the most prosperous and peaceful land of that day. It was an instinctive natural process working itself out in the life of the people. Her very prosperity and the greatness of the men led them on, for such was the bigness of their feeling that England herself was too small for them, but they must out and make a wider home for their race, something worthy of it in the great world that had come swimming into men's ken. Similarly it is not that the Churches are bankrupt that they are moving on to a greater Union, but that the vision before their eyes to-day is so large that the denomination, however much they love it, seems a little thing, and they must move on to a wider and wider home for the Christians of Canada, and one worthy of them in the great nation which is coming into being.

The National Aim Since Confederation.

A friend calls my attention to the fact that the progress of our national and of our religious life on parallel lines which we have been tracing so carefully, goes even farther. What has been the great national problem before the Dominion since its

inception? The great West—to fill it with a population, to have that population equal to and as efficient as our best, to instil into it the Canadian spirit and to enable it to develop the boundless resources of our prairies and our forests and mountains, and bring them to swell the riches, the well-being and the power of our land. To accomplish this we have poured out our treasure and built a vast network of railways. What is equally important, we have called on our best brains and enlisted police, agents, administrators, educators and what not—all to have a populous, organized and efficient West. That has been the national aim.

The Religious Aim Since Confederation.

The religious problem before the Churches since their Unions, which roughly synchronized with Confederation, has been like it—the great West, to see that it is filled with a Christian population, equal to and as efficient religiously as our best, Canadian and Christian in its spirit. Like the State the Church has sought to develop the boundless resources of the West, but with her the resources are in the life and character, the purpose and will of the people, and she has tried to bring these to swell the wealth of prayer and praise, of Christian philanthropy and high moral, civic and evangelic purpose of the Christianity of the Dominion. To this end the denominations, like the State, have poured out their treasure and cast the network of the churches

wide. They have enlisted, too, of their best brains—Bible agents, evangelists, ministers, great administrators like Dr. Robertson, educators and what not—all to accomplish the task at once national and Christian of creating a West worthy of our land and of the Kingdom of our Lord. Nothing has seemed too great to give for that purpose, no sacrifice too dear, and when it began to be seen that it could only be properly and efficiently accomplished by dropping denominational rivalries, by making light of sectarian differences, and by exalting the essential unity of all evangelical Christians, men whom one would have affirmed would shrink from all change and everything that might seem to lead away from the faith and the customs of their fathers, with an astonishing quickness and a largeness of vision altogether admirable, hailed what is nothing short of a revolution with joy and called on their fellows to forget old quarrels and sink very real differences in a great united Church if only they might solve that supreme problem of State and Church alike—the problem of the West.

It is important to recognize that we have in all this a manifestation of a historic law, the emergence of a natural phenomenon, the consummation of a process in nature, viz., the development of the Church and the State side by side. This takes it out of the realm of the personal and away from party faction, and should introduce into its consideration a measure of the quiet, judicial mind of the laboratory. People who have a process of nature on their

side will feel that they need not hurry and are in duty bound not to force the issue. On the other hand, those who feel even dimly that they have world-forces against them find no humiliation in submitting to them, as there might be in surrendering to a person or a party. If we have a historic law at work it is simple wisdom for all sections to throw themselves on its side and go neither faster nor slower than the process of nature is going, neither press beyond it nor lag behind.

But how far have Canadian self-dependence and unity gone? How far have we attained to an uniform independent Canadian social fabric? Our Canadian solidarity runs from ocean to ocean and from the highest to the lowest class, but it is profoundly modified by our freedom and diversity of life, on the one side, and our fervid attachment to the mother-country and her institutions on the other. If we are dealing with a historic process, with an inevitable natural phenomenon by which the Christianity of Canada is organizing itself in tune with the Dominion, obviously we cannot pick and choose, obviously every outstanding factor which modifies the Canadian social fabric must be sought after, and when found duly allowed for.

(b) *Secular Freedom and Variety.*

Canadian unity has been profoundly modified by the principles of freedom. Solidarity has been attained by a delicate and judicious combination of unity and liberty, of uniformity and variety. Its

principle may be said to be that each prime element in the land is to be permitted to have its place in her and make its contribution to her welfare. Here we are the true children of our British forefathers. We leave room within our unity for Quebec, French and Catholic. Nova Scotia and Ontario preserve each its own individuality. Though we are ruled by the majority there are institutions and customs at work restraining the many and giving to the few a place in the land and a power to shape its policy. If the majority infringe upon the chartered rights of the minority, they—Parliament itself—can be summoned to answer for it before the supreme court of the land or of the Empire. The majority in our Parliaments are always made heedful by the healthy remembrance of Election Day and a saving sense that they may have to step down to-morrow and give the present minority their chance to contribute to the good of the country. If the Liberals have their opportunity now in Nova Scotia, the Conservatives have theirs at Ottawa. Most notable is the contribution made by hundreds of citizens, known and unknown, through the press, restraining the majority, tempering party policies with moderation and mercy, and often moving the public to indignation at abuses and to generous action such as might otherwise never be.

Religious Freedom and Variety.

A similar and parallel freedom and variety exists for our religious life in the denominational system.

There is no doubt but that the presence of a Methodist congregation in a town with its own ways of working and its own spirit is a healthy stimulus to the Presbyterian pastor and people and makes them more considerate of a persistent minority than they would otherwise be. There can be no question but that from the Atlantic to the Pacific the Canadian people appreciate the freedom by which they can choose unhindered the forms by which they worship and in most cases the minister who will preach within their church. It is quite certain that various sections of the Christian community—what we have called High Presbyterian and High Methodist tradition—have been able to make their contribution to Canadian Christianity all the more effectively because they have controlled each its own great organization. I take it as a symptom of a deep-seated love of freedom that they should cry out against the uniformity of a great Union. I take it that they are as ambitious as any Union men to make their contribution to the Church which is to be, but they have grave apprehensions that they will be deprived of the power of doing so *as they think and feel is best* within the Union. They look with dismay upon the prospect of becoming a permanent minority without an organization or a voice. Consequently, they raise the standard of revolt in the name of liberty and diversity. It is quite possible that the leaders of the Union men may think all this is unjustified, but that is neither here nor there. Sentiments so deeply and truly Canadian cannot be ignored, whether they be

just or misguided. People who are accustomed to their own ways and liberties and appreciate their power to influence and control the policy of the State and so far of their own Church, will only submit to Union when they see that the United Church will be as free as the land in which they live, and that their opportunities to offer their talent and service to the Church will be as great and even greater than heretofore. Cicero once said:

"While other nations can endure servitude, liberty is the prerogative of the Roman people."

Liberty is the prerogative of the Canadian people, and if their Christianity is to be built up on a national scale, without sacrificing unity or discipline, it must gradually embody in a religious form the freedom of the Dominion, by which one and all can make, each his own contribution, to the welfare of the land which he loves.

(c) Canadian Devotion to the Motherland.

A third most conspicuous characteristic of the Canadian people is its intimate affection for the motherland and the Empire. There has not been a single stage in the history of this land under the flag which has not been dominated by that factor. It began with the loyalists, and has been kept fresh by a stream of immigration from the old country which has never ceased to flow to one part or another of British North America. It is fed by the constant come and go of our wealthier people. It broke out

into conscious life when our soldiers played a worthy part at the side of the British troops on the veldt of South Africa, and it is kept awake by Imperial Conferences and the statesmen and the Press of the two lands. It is a force often quiescent in the bosoms of the people, but so strong and so quick to arouse itself that statesmen can only ignore it to their hurt. Whether its jealousies and suspicions be justified or not, it makes and unmakes the Governments of our land, and is capable of transforming our administration in a day.

Religious Connection with the Motherland.

There are feelings in religious Canada quite analogous to this Imperial sentiment. They do not flow in the same broad stream, but run in the numerous narrower denominational channels. Consequently they are less impressive, but they are just as quick and powerful and just as dangerous to ignore. Loyalty to the mother-churches was very keen in the early stages of our history, and has been fed from decade to decade by a constant stream of immigration. We have had, in particular, a steady supply of ministers and professors from the mother-lands, and our more wealthy people are constantly coming and going upon the seas. Thus it is brought about that in some of the most intelligent and influential circles within the Churches the opposition to Union is keenest and most passionate. It may be that some of that opposition is a barren conservatism. It is much more

correct to say that it arises out of a fervid attachment to the forms of the Churches in the motherland, and out of a genuine fear that in leaving our older moorings we are cutting ourselves adrift from the institutions of our fathers, and, to change the metaphor, losing our historic continuity. If we are, as by a law of nature, moulding our church-system to the social and political fabric of our land, we must take due account of this sentimental grip of the Old Country and its institutions upon the Canadian mind. It may prove strong enough to make or unmake Union. To ignore it is to court disaster.

THE SIXTH STUDY.

THE WAY TO UNION.

We have hitherto devoted ourselves mainly to the story and the theory of the development of ecclesiastical organization in the distant past and more recently in Canada. It should not be necessary in the twentieth century or in the Church of Calvin to emphasize the influence of correct theory in the way of giving sure and consistent conduct. What then is the road which we have found marked out for us?

The Course Indicated by the New Testament.

Scripture indicates that we should lay the stress upon the men to whom Christianity has its mission, and only in a secondary degree upon the institutions. It was the Scribe and the Pharisee who sacrificed men to traditional forms; Christ's word was, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." Consequently, we will beware of enforcing institutions new or old by a majority or a minority upon people whom we know to be loyal Christians. Such stress on particular forms is not in keeping with the New Testament. Rather the forms, old or new, are to be maintained just in proportion as they do people good and win

their affection. This means that the Union Church must be deliberately shaped by the opinion of the people, and, if necessary, vary in different areas as local sentiment may vary.

So far as the matter in hand goes, the most prominent feature in the New Testament is the spiritual solidarity of the Christians. It existed before their organization. In fact, it was the foundation on which the constitution of the compact primitive Church was built. Accordingly, we must begin in Canada with our spiritual solidarity. Upon that we must build, going no farther than it has gone, and making allowances for what in geology they call "faults," breaches in the continuity of the sense of solidarity within the bodies proceeding to Union. There is no sense of oneness between us and the Roman Catholics and even the High Anglicans. This simple fact rules the two bodies out of any Union. Particular views of Adult Baptism and Immersion have prevented any more than a limited sense of unity from growing up between ourselves and the Baptists. Here again is ground that the present Union cannot cover, or could only cover at the cost of its solidarity. The Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists are left. The question, then, is how far have these bodies gone towards a spiritual solidarity such as we see in the New Testament? The Union Committee, composed of the leading men of all the Churches, says that it has gone far enough to give a firm basis for Corporate Union. The Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in the

church-courts have affirmed the same by large majorities, though it is notable that there are persistent minorities, and there is a large proportion which refrains from expressing itself either way. And now the three Churches by large majorities have made the same declaration for themselves. Yet there is a persistent hostile minority, and a very considerable body not decided enough to express its opinion. What would the New Testament say to such a situation? I think it would still say: Look at the people and not the institutions; allow diversities of ministrations, but maintain unity in heart and in fact; build the Union to the shape of the ground as it is manifested by the declaration of the sentiments of the people; so long as High Methodist or High Presbyterian institutions are doing men good preserve them, and by preserving them allow all parties to make their own contribution to the Church which is to be. Such a policy would give Union three distinctive features. There would be (1) local solidarity in Canada (actual in many places, approximate in the Dominion at large); (2) there would be freedom and diversity within that solidarity; and, (3) inasmuch as the chief concern of the minority is to maintain continuity with the mother-churches and their institutions there should be an effort to foster our intercourse with the Christianity of the mother-lands, as the local church in primitive times fostered intercourse with the Church at large. So far the New Testament.

The Guidance of History.

Very much the same results have been reached by our several historical enquiries. In particular we have seen in our fourth study that (1) the whole trend of religious life is towards unity, especially among the Evangelical bodies, whose stress is laid on the religion of the heart. (2) Yet this drift is not to a rigid uniformity, but to a diversified unity grounded on liberty to differ about external forms. (3) This liberty is in its turn checked by a certain historic sense, a certain reverence for the things of the past, a certain clinging to the institutions which mark out our continuity with that which has been.

Finally, our study of Canadian history brought us by a very different path to the same general position. (1) The Churches, following the drift of our national life, are being swept on to a Union approximately commensurate with the Dominion. (2) But here again allowances are to be made. There must be liberty for the actual divergencies in our midst to work out their own ideals in their own way. (3) Finally, the cherished ties which bind us to the mother-lands and mother-churches must be respected and even fostered as never before.

It remains for us to ask which of the various policies offered us now, Co-operation, Federation or Union, comes nearest to embodying all these three elements in itself, and lastly, how can we bring the triple requirement into a policy calculated to win

SUGGESTION OF A WAY TO UNION 259

the conviction and the devotion of the whole Church—of the majority and minority alike?

(1) *As to solidarity*, all the evidence of the New Testament, and for the most part, of history, is in favor of Corporate Union.* There is a slight contribution to unity in Co-operation, but in practice it is very difficult for central committees to say nay to loyal Presbyterians or Methodists who wish to build a Church of their own in some new settlement, and it is impossible on any permanent principle to parcel out ground on which the relative population of Presbyterians and Methodists is constantly changing with incoming settlers, and where the Presbyterians may be in a majority to-day and a minority to-morrow. Co-operation leaves the Churches at best in a similar position with the nations of Europe at the present—in a state of peace armed to the teeth, and finding it well-nigh impossible to agree about the dividing of such territory as remains to be occupied. The same may be said of Federation.

Moreover, Federation, though it offers a more liberal contribution to unity, will create a fourth governing organization where there are now already too many. It will give a certain solidarity to the action of the Churches in political matters; probably it would really do something to create unity in the

*The failure of the great Mediæval Church can scarcely be attributed to its size. It was rather due to its system of absolute government. The world has yet to try the experiment of a great international Church, free and democratic in its form of government.

ground not yet occupied by the denominations, but if we may judge by England it would accomplish little or nothing where over-lapping organizations already exist. Besides, Federation can only be a step to Corporate Union. The more it succeeded the louder the call would be for Union, for the larger the proportion of congregations in which all denominations worship together successfully, the more impossible it must be for the different bodies to keep apart. Finally, Federation does not simply maintain a system not found in the New Testament, where two organizations in one geographical area are unheard of; it bars the way to Scriptural solidarity, spiritual and actual, and it not merely bolsters up a denominational system born outside of Canada and before Canadian times, but it opposes the whole trend of Canadian life to solidarity of spirit and unity of government.

(2) *How, then, about freedom and diversity?* Here, I fancy, Organic Union is weakest. The intentions of its promoters are, no doubt, of the best. Probably they are surprised that any should think that under a free constitution such as the Union Church will have there should be any trouble. Statesmen and ecclesiastics always feel that the State or the Church can be entrusted to their own keeping with perfect security, but one has said recently with keen insight: "No class can be permanently entrusted with the interests of another class with safety," we may add, unless that other class has some recognized way by which its voice is heard and

its influence is felt. Scottish tradition and High Methodism are perhaps even now in a minority in the respective Churches, but they maintain their power in the smaller denomination by sheer force of will and of zeal. In the great Union Church, they fear, they will be silenced and lost. Thus they turn to Federation, as likely to preserve their freedom to make their own contribution to the Christianity of Canada in their own way. In this, Federation voices a genuine Christian and Canadian instinct.

(3) Finally, as to *continuity with the mother-churches and their institutions beyond the seas*, Corporate Union, in that it will allow very great liberty to the congregations, will not be as destructive as might appear at first sight. None the less, Union means the Canadianizing of the Churches. On the other hand, Federation would tend to preserve the High Presbyterian and High Methodist traditions, and so far keep the Communion in continuity with the churches and institutions of the mother lands. The result would be that Scottish and English religious traditions would gradually soak into the Canadian mind and make it that much the richer. Here again Federation gives expression to a fine Christian and Canadian tendency.

Union gives effect to New Testament solidarity, but Federation preserves Scriptural freedom, and contact with the Christian world outside and with the past.

It always constitutes a grave situation when the instincts of a country or a Church get so far separated

and distributed that they are voiced by different, and perhaps irreconcilable, parties—for example, when the Cavaliers summed up in themselves the monarchical sentiments of Englishmen and the Roundheads their notorious instinct for liberty; or when at the Disruption, unity was organized in one party and liberty in the other. The three Churches involved in Union find themselves in a grave perplexity, because there is a substantial majority for Union, and yet a persistent minority holds out for the freedom and diversity and continuity that are found in denominationalism. The uncertainty of the way is all the greater as the principles of the parties are not nearly so sharply drawn in practice as they have been on these pages. The result might be a situation which would test the political instincts of our ecclesiastics to the extreme and strain our sense of unity to its greatest limits, though this danger appears to be passing away.

The Way to Union.

Under these circumstances it would be necessary to find a path along which all parties without loss of self-respect or dignity could move to a great Union Church whose institutions, making for freedom, diversity and continuity, would mark the contribution of the minority, as its solidarity would be the work of the majority.

(1) *As to Union*, it should be possible to find agreement on the general principle that the sentiments of the people and their declared will should be

SUGGESTION OF A WAY TO UNION 263

followed, both in the Dominion as a whole and in the several parts considered separately. This would mean that since the Dominion as a whole has declared for Union by a large majority, but in some parts of it the opposition to Union is in a majority or a large minority, each part, the greater and the lesser, would receive the consideration due to its sentiment. Thus Union would not be a dramatic act by which the highest courts in the Churches might throw the denominations into one, but a process by which the whole, having adhered to the Union, the different parts would separately and of their own motion inaugurate the actual amalgamation as public sentiment permitted or impelled them. The large majority in the whole Dominion would be taken as meaning that the highest courts and the central offices are to be one. A large majority in the Dominion could only mean that there were majorities in most of the individual provinces. In these areas the Synods and Annual Conferences would, by a separate vote, decide to carry their adhesion to Union to the point of amalgamation. So, too, the lower courts of a district would separately and of their own initiative take the final step that would throw them together. The moral influence making for fusion would be so strong that the lower courts would hesitate to take up a position of isolation—i.e., in the Union, but not yet merged into a united court. At the same time there should be no compulsion, and any court taking up that attitude should be allowed to maintain its integrity until the local sentiment became ripe for fusion.

For the higher courts to throw together two reluctant bodies would be to force them into a period of friction and perhaps faction which could scarcely be confined to the particular area, but would extend itself and ultimately emerge by way of appeal in the highest court itself. We are now a homogeneous, happy family, and yet we have our disputes. In the Union there must crop up many new questions for solution, and the very men who will have brought Union about will find it hard always to agree and be satisfied with what is done. It will be still worse with those who submit to Union reluctantly. When we consider human nature, and above all, ecclesiastical human nature, it seems only common sense that when two bodies of ministers are to work together in one court, they should not be forced to do so from above, but agree among themselves to that intent. General adhesion to Union, accompanied by the local right, while adhering to it, to maintain separate denominational organizations till opinion be ripe for amalgamation, would result in a system a little difficult for the central offices to work, but the area of chaotic denominationalism would be greatly diminished. Over the whole, and in parts where Union is really desired, we should have a Union Church. Reluctant areas would be within that Church, but would have something like Federation so long as that reluctance remained. Above all, the Church would be resting safely on the sentiment and support of the people, and manifesting even local diversities and dislikes as the Dominion does so beautifully.

SUGGESTION OF A WAY TO UNION 265

This is exactly what the leaders of Union intend to do in regard to the congregations. It is inconceivable that they should force two congregations, irrespective of their sentiment, into one charge. That would multiply from the Atlantic to the Pacific those most insoluble of all problems, congregational quarrels. Let the liberty granted to congregations be extended to presbyteries and synods. I do not think any higher court should send committees, or refuse grants, or otherwise exercise any coercion to make congregations or presbyteries or synods unite. Fusion should be on the initiative of the people concerned, and the higher court should only come in to see that the local arrangements are wise and just, and do not press upon the minority. Thus year by year, as the people see the value of Union and grow together in a really Christian spirit of unity, the structure of the Union Church will rise until it come to its final and complete consummation.

While congregations would be free to unite or not with other congregations after their presbytery had decided in favor of presbyterial fusion of the various bodies, they would, before that, be required to follow the fortunes of their presbytery, which according to our constitution binds the whole group into one bundle of life. If we give them a freedom in this matter of Union, which they do not enjoy at present, to act apart from their presbytery, we shall be into chaos at once. The majority might be roused to anger by the sight of congregations taking this liberty and going into independency, or making rela-

tions with Churches in the United States or joining some other Canadian body. On the other hand, the minority may see itself deserted by the greater part of the congregations going over to Union and itself left to be a ragged remnant. The result would be anger and bitterness such as could not be allayed in a lifetime. If, on the contrary, all the congregations are required to stand together as a presbytery, whichever way the presbytery goes, we shall keep within the limits of the constitution—always the only safe course—and reduce friction to a minimum. It would be understood that in return for anti-unionist congregations accepting local fusion of presbytery and district council, in deference to the large majority for it in their presbytery, unionist congregations would accept the situation where the majority was against such fusion or where there was a very considerable minority which made it inadvisable. Such would remain within the Union but not united with the Methodists of their presbyterial area, until presbytery should so decide.

(2) *As to freedom and diversity*, the above arrangement would give, not simply to congregations, but to higher courts, the opportunity to maintain their integrity and their forms so long as there was actually a sentiment prevailing to support them.

There would be, then, presbyteries and even, perhaps, synods which, while within the Union, would yet not unite with the Methodists of their area. Great care would have to be taken to treat them as in every sense of the great united Church and to

grant them equal privileges with all the rest. In particular it would be necessary that there should be the means in the Church, as there is in the State, by which groups such as these (and I would add even individuals) could express their sentiments and influence and modify the policy followed by the majority. This will be, of course, provided for by free discussion in the committees and in the church-courts, in which, it is needless to say, the minority should have their fair representation, but, as we have already pointed out, the discussions of the committees and of the courts seldom reach beyond four walls, except in the announcement of the decision of the majority. This gives the many the advantage of the Press, and effectually silences the few. It matters little where public opinion is homogeneous, but it is not a system that can be maintained where there are habitual divergencies of view, without creating discontent and heart-burnings. It may be taken for certain that in a large Church, there will be masses of opinion which, if they cannot make their appeal to the public one way, will do it in another. In the Church of England across the sea, the various shades of opinion have found expression for themselves by establishing newspapers, publishing houses and colleges. This system arms the parties to the teeth, and creates rows of officials and financial interests committed to support the party view. The friction generated is not simply great, but it is endowed and made permanent, the which is disastrous to the peaceful and orderly progress of the Church. Far

other is the way in the Methodist or Presbyterian Churches. The church-courts allow free discussion; no permanent parties appear; each question is decided on its merits; and for the most part our Press is official and represents the views of the majority at the time. In a large Church with diverging sentiments and a group of divergent presbyteries and congregations this system should be maintained with modifications in the direction of making the official papers a true mirror of the whole church membership, and, further, instead of following public opinion, they should anticipate it, inform it, educate it, and bring it in advance to the support of the work of the Church. The best practice in this country and in Britain should be followed. The editor should be a moderate man in general sympathy with the policy of the Church, and writing in his editorial or other recognized columns to explain and enforce it. The rest of the paper should be *deliberately made an absolutely neutral but true reflection of what is being done and thought in the Church*. Questions of policy to be discussed in committee or in the courts should be purposely anticipated so that any minority could give utterance beforehand to its sentiments, with the consequence that responsible parties would come to business after mature thought and knowing the sentiments of the Church at large. The system would, I am convinced, win the interest and support of the public for the work of the Union Church at the very outset, and be an invaluable guide for our rulers to an acceptable policy, but above all it would enable the

divergent groups of opinion to express themselves, to so far modify the course of business, and to feel that they had a voice in the management of affairs. This should be increased by a careful reporting of important discussions, in the committees and courts, in the colleges and on the public platform,—all in an objective way, bringing out the principles, putting the personalities in the background, and suppressing the likes and dislikes and even the impressions of the reporter. In a word, we want a good religious Press, as good and better than our secular Press. We want it for the good in itself, but we want it to voice the various shades of opinion and to make them feel their place in the great Union Church and be satisfied.

Similarly with our booklets and lesson helps, etc. At the present time they are official—*i.e.*, the type of work the majority desires. If we are to prevent the groups of opinion in a minority from working up publishing schemes of their own we must be ready to publish any type of book that could do good work, if only for the few. A safe policy would be, if the demand for any line of work be sufficiently great to give promise of its ultimately paying its way, it should be adopted. For example, if a large number desired to introduce books such as are used so successfully in schools and Sunday Schools in England for teaching the young the text of Scripture as a whole without a plethora of comment, it should be done. If such books brought new life to one-tenth of the Sunday Schools in the land, a good piece of work would be accomplished. The point, however, is that

by arranging that every type of mind and the divergent elements, High Presbyterian, Methodist or Congregationalist, should freely contribute their quota to the newspapers and the publications of the Church, the highest courts would continue to control the main organs of education, etc., as at present, and would always be able to keep them moderate in their views, while there would be sufficient freedom to leave no excuse for a group of opinion to organize itself outside of the ordinary machinery of the Church, and so create a party or a faction.

Similarly as to our Colleges, doubtless care will be taken, as was done at our Presbyterian unions, to have the professors representative of the various Churches uniting, and it is more than probable that in the future as in the past a close relationship will exist between the public sentiment of any geographical area and the teaching institution which draws its students from it, and returns most of them as ministers to its service. Where endowments have already been raised for chairs of the same subject in colleges in the same city, no gross injury would be done if two professors of different traditions lectured in the united college concurrently on the same subject. Students could choose their teachers, as they already do in the larger universities. Variety in teaching would be a good thing in itself, but the point aimed at here is that it could be made the basis of agreement as we go forward to Union. Scottish tradition and Methodist ideals could exist side by side in the col-

leges as in the Church, and there would be no excuse for any discontented faction to do as the High Church and the Low Church parties have both done in the Anglican body, viz., to found teaching institutions outside of the ordinary machinery of the Church, camps armed and endowed, from which to wage war for all generations in the interest of a faction or the ideas of a section of the great Union Church.

(3) Finally, ample arrangements should be made for cultivating *relationship with the mother-churches*. Wherever our people desire to maintain locally the ancient traditions they will be allowed to do so. So far both Corporate Union and Federation propose to go. We should go still further. We should give Canadian Christianity a relationship to British Christianity analogous to the relationship that exists between Canada and the Empire, or such as prevailed in the New Testament Church between Antioch and Jerusalem. While we shall be moving along our own Canadian way, all the avenues of our minds should be open to the mother-churches. Delegations, better still, special missions, to and from one another should be a fixed policy. Particularly, ample arrangements should be made to have our graduates in large numbers drink deeply of the reverent, mature, scholarly and deeply pious life which is characteristic of the motherland. Within the outward forms of the Canadian Church, we should carefully foster the inward spirit of British Christianity—the genius for shepherding the people, which is the glory of Methodism, and that firm grasp of principles, that

quiet dignity and persistent intelligence which are the proud boast of Presbyterianism.

All these proposals must be quite familiar to the reader, though, perhaps, not usually thrown into such an elaborate form. They should be argued for, not as expediciencies, but on principle. It is no piece of opportunism that we should seek to incorporate in the Union that fine blend of solidarity and freedom held before our eyes in Sacred Writ. It is no mere empiricism to seek to bring all parties together in a Church reflecting in its form, its institutions and its spirit the social fabric—solid, free, and cherishing the past—in which we live.

One grave consideration remains. It is in growing times that our systems of government are tested and their true temper made manifest. To the historian the final testing question is, "Will some principle or policy which is the peculiar contribution of that age or land be engrafted into the old system, perhaps cleansing and renewing it, as the Reformation would have done for the Roman Church; perhaps simply strengthening and awakening it as Puritanism and Methodism would have done for the Church of England?" It is tolerably easy for the student to trace out the principles. In actual life and for the public man, it is extremely difficult, for the principles are embodied in men—a passionate, loud-mouthed Luther, for such some thought the great reformer to be, or a cold, calculating Calvin, whom those who do not know him dread. It becomes, then, a matter of supreme importance to try to get beyond

SUGGESTION OF A WAY TO UNION 273

the personal aspect of things and to see that every age has its own contribution to make towards Christianity at large. Every country has its gift to make to the Christianity in its midst. Every group of men, nay, every awakened soul, has something to add to the welfare of his Church and his kind. Most of the great ecclesiastical quarrels have arisen because men refused to see and make allowance for this impressive fact. In the discussion of the Union question, let us try to be as broad as the Apostle Paul, and as free as the makers of the Dominion, and let us give a large room and sphere of action in the Church for all loyal followers of the Lord, for

"There are diversities of gifts . . . but all these worketh the one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to each one severally as he will."—1 Cor. 12: 11.

Let us accept the good each party has to bring. Let us sweep the men laboring for a great united Communion and those who desire to maintain the good things of the past, and not these only, but the least of His little ones who has a message and a mission of his own, all into one happy family, into one Household of God.

In the tropics at dusk or early dawn the atmosphere of a garden is indescribably sweet and rich. The odor seems almost to burden the air. It is not the odor of the rose, nor of the jasmine, nor the tulip, nor the smallest flower in the garden, but it is the rich blend of the sweetness of the rose *and* the jasmine, *and* the tulip, *and* the smallest flower in the garden. Perhaps not the least among the blessings of

the Union movement will prove to be, not simply that a great mass of Christian life will be swept into one efficient, far-reaching organization, but that it will enlarge our ideas of the range and variety of "the operation of the Spirit," deliver us from the misconception that the Church is a row of men all of one stripe, and lead us to a deliberate attempt to enlist a dozen and one forms of organization and a score of types of character in the vast mission placed upon our shoulders towards our land and our kind. I think such a sweet atmosphere of freedom and brotherly kindness would be created in the Church that people would spring up, so to say, out of the hedges, aye, and the ditches, to find their place in its membership and in its service, and in that rough, approximate way, which is all that is possible in this world, marred as it is by human faults and flaws, we shall enjoy in our own place and time, as it were, our Garden of Eden, whose rich odor would come from the smallest as from the greatest flower in the garden. Out of the ground God will make to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden and the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and men will hear the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day.

The final word must be addressed rather to those who look on than to the members of the uniting Churches. It might appear, at first sight, that we mean to invent new forms and create a new-fangled Church, which will be neither Catholic, Presbyterian,

Congregationalist, nor Methodist, and we will perhaps be charged with cutting ourselves adrift from the historic continuity of the Church of Christ. To most of us the important thing is to keep in line with the New Testament, and that has been the deliberate policy of the advocates of Union, but if it be insisted upon that we build also in keeping with the historic development of the Church, we answer with perfect confidence that we are so doing, for it is quite impossible to prove that the Church has had but one form of government, or for that matter, one *form* of faith in every generation, including the earliest, so that true continuity cannot lie in the externals of our religion. But we trust we have made good a historic continuity of a more general but of a more vital kind, viz., that in every age the Church has acted as if she were free, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to model and remodel her forms in order to accomplish her mission to the time and towards the country in which she labored. On that principle was built up the Roman Imperial Church. On that assumption the remodelling which we know under the name of the Mediæval Papacy was accomplished. On that ground the Church in England took the varied forms of the Saxon and of the Reformation times—all, we are prepared to contend, without breaking with Catholic tradition properly conceived or losing her identity. On that same principle we grant to our Scottish forefathers and to the Wesleys and to Whitefield the right to shape or to try to shape the Church

to their high evangelic purpose. On that same principle we are seeking to model and remodel the three Churches to the country in which we live, and for the high gospel mission committed to their charge. We affirm, in all humility, that we are building in keeping with historic Christianity. All that of the past that we can keep we endeavor to preserve. The new—the larger unity and some few forms—are dictated to us under God by the needs and the spirit of the land in which we live, the Dominion which we love.

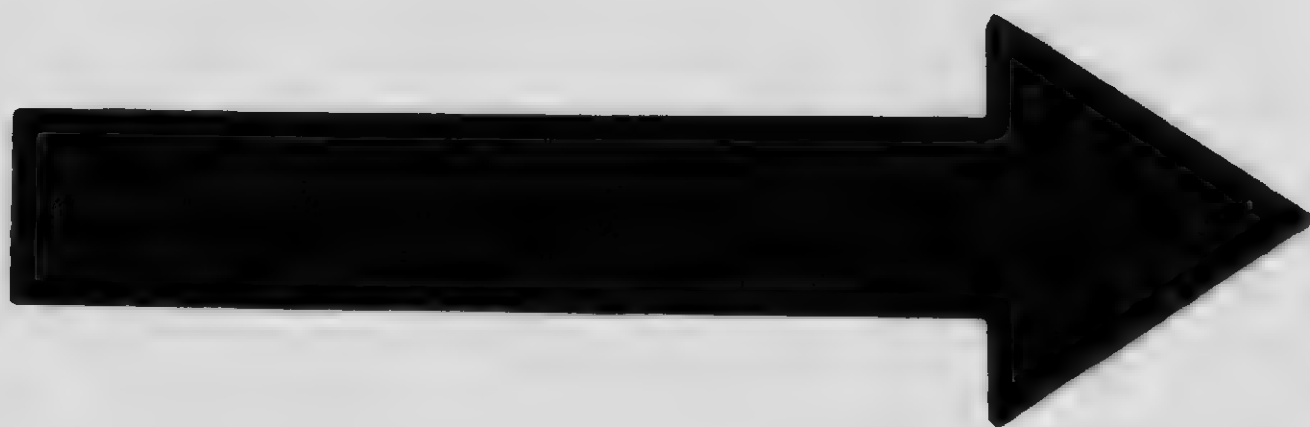
APPENDIX I.

(See page 78.)

UNION WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

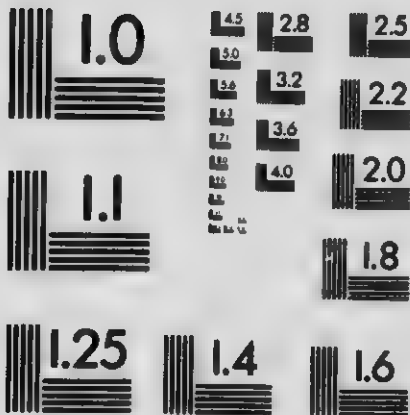
Union with the Anglican Church is not yet within the range of practical politics, but should it ever come to be so, the essential likeness of the Presbyterian and Anglican forms of organization to those of the Roman Imperial Church will be brought to the front. Presbyterianism is a democratic version of primitive Christianity, adapted to Scotland, while the Roman Imperial system began by being democratic and ended by being an autocratic version fitting the Empire. Both involve (1) the principle of electing officers, (2) a series of ecclesiastical courts, and (3) a unifying Assembly at the top. Presbyterianism preserves the early democratic principle, for the elected head of the community or synod is subject to the will of the body he represents, as was at the very first. On the other hand, Anglicanism preserves the later autocratic phase, and invests the bishop with monarchical powers.

The basis of the system of the Church of England is this later Imperial system fitted into the Anglo-Saxon world. The most ancient English dioceses



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retain almost unchanged to this day the boundaries of the ancient tribal group for which they were created—Canterbury for the East Jutes, Rochester for the West Jutes, London for the East Saxons, Winchester for the West Saxons,—while the rival hegemonies of the Kingdom of Kent and Northumbria survive in the two Archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, the two ancient capitals. It is possible to trace the modifications made in the English Church by the Norman Conquest, by the Reformation, by the Stuarts and the Hanoverians, and now by the rise of our industrial democracy, for it is altogether as pretty an illustration of our principle of the influence of secular affairs on ecclesiastical institutions as could be wished for.

The course of English history has dealt roughly with the ancient forms. The election of the bishops is the merest formality, an ancient survival in the ecclesiastical body, as the appendix is in the physical frame, for actually the Crown appoints the bishops. Convocation was suppressed by Walpole, and has only been recently revived. What check the ancient presbyters or the provincial synod had on the autocracy of the then episcopal head has disappeared. It is interesting to note that this free land of ours has brought many of these features back into the Anglican Church. Election is once more a reality. The Churches have to a large extent the deciding voice in the call of their clergymen, while Presbyters and laymen unite to elect the Provincial Bishop. The check which the Presbyters or the Synod exer-

cised in the ancient Church upon the Bishops or the Metropolitan has reappeared in Canada in the shape of the Diocesan Synod. The unity of the whole system in an assembly of Bishops under a Primate is the coping-stone of the ecclesiastical arch in Canada as it was in the ancient Church. All these steps which Anglicanism in Canada has taken towards the ancient Roman Imperial system are so many steps towards a system from which Presbyterianism only differs by being its democratic counterpart. They bring the two Churches so much the nearer to one another. If there should ever arise a spirit of co-operation between the two and with that a sense of their essential oneness it should not be impossible to bring the two systems into one. The Presbyterians would have to accept the Bishop, provided he would become a limited monarch, acting always as Presbytery or Synod should direct. The Anglicans would have to accept the various assemblies as the seat of power in the Church. If there should arise a real sense of unity, that which now seems impossible might become practicable. In Broad Church and in Evangelical circles, which regard the Episcopate as, not the *esse*, but the *bene esse*, as they put it, as not the essential but the best form of government, I know of no principles barring the way. It is far otherwise with High Church opinion. There the belief which grew up in the Roman Imperial Church, not simply that she was Divine, but that her institutions, her (autocratic) Episcopate, her creed and her ritual, were all Divine and guaranteed as

such by their Apostolicity. Catholicity and Scripturalness, is accepted as fundamental. It is no use for the Presbyterian to wonder why one age or one Empire should be endowed with Divine direction, and should have the right to create its institutions, while another age and another people, so far as one can see, equally religious, and a little less quarrelsome, can have no such guidance, nor no such right to refashion its government in the interests of unity and peace. It is tolerably manifest that no Church which believes in the Divine Right of its institutions, whether Roman Catholic, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, can tolerate either a restatement of its beliefs or a remodelling of its forms of government, nor can it treat any body without its exact institutions as in any manner part and parcel of the true Christian Church. To go even deeper, so long as this belief is accepted it must be impossible for those mutual understandings and sympathies to develop either in the party which claims the Divine Right or in those who dispute it, without which no sense of unity can come, and, consequently, no corporate union be brought about.

APPENDIX II.

(See page 40.)

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS AND NEW TESTAMENT FORMS.

The Churches of the Reformation, and particularly the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, following Calvin, have deliberately based their institutions on the New Testament. Yet these two bodies did not treat Scripture as a constitutional document to be slavishly followed, much as they revered it, and perhaps felt that they were following.

Points on which they agree are, that the church is in the first place a group of believers and not a hierarchy; in fact, men and not prescribed institutions; that the marks of a true church and ministry are:

1. It must preach "the doctrine of Christ."
2. "Administer the sacred mysteries" (sacraments).
3. "And exercise right discipline" (Calvin).
4. The church has an inalienable right to elect officers for herself from among such as are called to minister in God's service.

Both have treated the New Testament sufficiently freely to drop the apostle, prophet and evangelist as permanent officers of the church.

"The Lord raised up (these) three at the beginning of His Kingdom, and still occasionally raises them up when the necessity of the times requires it."—Calvin.

Presbyterians and some Congregationalists agree in finding three grades in the local ministry—pastors, presbyters, elders (deacons).

The points in which the two differ are that most Congregationalists find the New Testament ministry to be in two degrees: Elders (including pastors) and deacons; that to all Congregationalists the visible Church is not the great mass of believers but "the gathered Church" voluntarily organized into a congregation. While Presbyterians, on the one side, secure the wide-spread union which they see in the New Testament by regarding the powers of the Church as lying in the mass of Christians who are to be gathered after the manner of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15), under a *legislative* General Assembly, the Congregationalists, on the other, maintain the local liberty which is writ large on the sacred pages by reserving the supreme power of the Church for the congregation and by interpreting the Council of Jerusalem as being *consultative* only. These differences arose largely out of the varying circumstances in the light of which the several bodies interpreted Scripture and formed their institutions.

Presbyterianism in Scotland was a national movement and maintains a national unity. Congregationalism arose through groups of stalwart Puritans leaving the Church of England from time to time, and consequently laid its stress upon "The gathered Church."

THE METHODIST AND NEW TESTAMENT FORMS.

In marked contrast to the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, the Methodists did not deliberately form a church after the model of the New Testament, for they were rather framing societies within the Church of England, but, inasmuch as no denomination in history has fixed its institutions under conditions more nearly the same as those in which the primitive Church shaped itself, at first within and then without the Jewish Church, its forms, by a sort of law of nature, closely resemble those of the New Testament age. The Church is the body of believers; its supreme functions are to preach the Word, to administer the sacraments and to discipline the people; it can create its own ministry. Analogous to the ancient peripatetic ministry stands a row of itinerant preachers for the body at large with John Wesley as chief apostle; comparable to the New Testament local ministry are a band of local officers testifying, teaching, ruling, enforcing discipline.

The total result is that Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Methodism are not unlike one

another, and are like the New Testament Church in their general structure. Differences there are, of course, and if Scripture be a constitutional document these differences are vital. If, on the other hand, we are left a certain freedom, in that the Holy Spirit is promised to guide us, they become adjustable, as, indeed, the Union Committee at Toronto has found them to be.

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